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THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A DEMONSTRATION PROGRAM TO GAIN BASIC KNOWLEDGE ABOUT THE CAUSES AND PROCESSES OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY AND TO TEST MEANS OF DEALING WITH THEM IS PROPOSED. THE PROGRAM WILL INTEGRATE BOTH RESEARCH AND ACTION PROGRAMS IN VARIOUS SECTIONS WHICH DESCRIBE--(1) THE PROJECT COMMUNITY (THE FREQUENCY OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY, DEMOGRAPHIC CHARARACTERISTICS, AND RESOURCES IN THE AREA), (2) GUIDELINES FOR ACTION (WAYS TO INCREASE THE DELINQUENT'S OPPORTUNITIES AND HIS CAPACITY TO UTILIZE THEM, A DISCUSSION OF THE LEVELS AND CONTENT OF HIS ASPIRATIONS, AND STRATEGIES OF SOCIAL CONTROL), AND (3) VARIOUS ACTION PROGRAMS (OCCUPATIONAL PROJECTS, TEACHER TRAINING, CURRICULUM IMPROVEMENT, PARENT-SCHOOL RELATIONS, PRESCHOOL AND ELEMENTARY SCHOOL PROGRAMS, AND GUIDANCE AND PERSONNEL SERVICES). THE GENERAL PURPOSES OF THE ACTION AND RESEARCH PROGRAMS ARE SUMMARIZED IN SEVERAL SECTIONS. ELEVEN APPENDIXES DEALING WITH SPECIFIC ASPECTS OF EITHER THE ACTION OR RESEARCH PROGRAMS ARE INCLUDED. (BD)

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A Proposal for the Prevention and Control of Delinquency by Expanding Opportunities

MOBILIZATION FOR YOUTH, INC.

UD001217

A Proposal for the Prevention and Control of Delinquency by Expanding Opportunities

A Demonstration Project
Conceived and Developed

by

MOBILIZATION FOR YOUTH, INC.
214 East Second Street
New York 9, New York

**U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION**

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Mobilization for Youth, Inc. is a non-profit membership corporation composed of representatives of agencies and institutions on the Lower East Side of New York City and persons recommended by the New York School of Social Work of Columbia University.

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PREFACE

Juvenile delinquency is widely recognized as a major social problem not only in the United States but in many other modern industrial countries throughout the world. Yet little systematic work has been done on the problem since the Second World War. Law enforcement officers and the courts, social welfare, religious and civic organizations, and government at various levels, all have taken a crack at it but only on a fragmentary, ad hoc basis. While behavioral scientists have formulated a number of theories of causation and process, their hypotheses have gone largely untested.

"Mobilization for Youth" is put forward as an answer to the need for a systematic approach to the problem. As a reading of the proposal will show, it offers a broad program of action based on a coherent operating hypothesis and integrated with a carefully designed program of research and evaluation. Essentially, it is a project of social experimentation and investigation, using as its laboratory an urban residential area with a high delinquency rate, large and diverse enough in population to be representative of problem areas in many communities but small enough geographically to permit the operation of intensive programs of action and research.

The idea which has developed into this proposal originated at a meeting of the Board of Directors of the Henry Street Settlement in June of 1957. The agenda was devoted to a report on the alarming growth of delinquency on New York's Lower Eastside and the measures being taken to cope with it. Toward the close of the meeting, Mr. J.M. Kaplan, a business man who had taken an active interest in many social problems, recommended that work be started at once on drawing up a program commensurate in size and scope with the dimensions of the problem. He offered the support of his Foundation, and Miss Helen Hall, Director of the Settlement, immediately set in motion the planning process which, in the event, has taken four and a half years to complete. In the first stage of this process, the practices and insights of the youth-serving agencies on the Lower Eastside -- settlement houses, other social agencies, religious institutions, and civic organizations -- were brought together into a many-faceted action program. Around this program, a research design was then constructed by faculty members of the Research Center of the New York School of Social Work of Columbia University, aided by a grant from the Taconic Foundation. But when the resulting dual program was reviewed by a committee of highly qualified experts brought together by the National Institute of Mental Health, it was found to lack a sufficiently unifying principle in its approach to the problem to make it the researchable, laboratory experiment that its sponsors intended it be. Consequently, the New York School of Social Work and the Board of Directors then being formed by the local organizations sponsoring the action program, jointly submitted an application to the National Institute of Mental Health for grants to re-plan the project, taking as the unifying principle the hypothesis developed by Drs. Cloward and Ohlin in their recent book, Delinquency & Opportunity. In brief, this thesis is that the kind of opportunity structure in which young people find themselves is the central condition determining their behavior, either conforming or deviant. The requested grants were made in November of 1959, and the work proceeded as sketched in the Introduction that follows.

An extended planning process such as this has been is especially trying to people on the firing-line -- social workers, clergy, teachers and civic leaders who are attempting to deal with juvenile delinquency day in and day out, and with inadequate means, in their neighborhoods. In addition, persons dedicated to social and spiritual service believe in what they are doing and it takes largeness of mind to assent to a rearrangement of emphasis in the constituents of a program that subordinates, even to a small extent, the work to which they are giving all their thought and energy. It is a tribute to the professional members of "Mobilization's" Board who are working on the Lower Eastside, and to many of their colleagues, that without abdicating responsibility for exercising their best judgment, they collaborated constructively and helpfully with the planning staff. It is also a tribute to the staff that they, on their part, avoided that glazed fixity of view that endless planning in the abstract can so easily induce. The Board is well aware of the great quantity of work, and its high quality, performed by the staff in preparing this proposal.

We fully endorse the grateful acknowledgments made in the Introduction to the many people, both volunteers and staff, who contributed to the work, but we wish especially to commend the three Directors, Mr. McCarthy, Dr. Cloward and Mr. Brager, for the excellence of their performance in completing a large and difficult task.

The proposal now goes to those whose decision will determine whether it is to be carried out. It is a large and expensive project as behavioral science experiments go, but compared with projects in technological research and development, it is modest. We think that it is time that American society began to invest something like as much in the development of better human relations as it puts into technology. As in industry and the physical sciences, social research and development costs far more than the subsequent application of its findings and the replication of the methods it tests.

This project is designed to add basic knowledge about the causes and processes of juvenile delinquency and to develop and test improved ways of coping with it. The Board of "Mobilization for Youth" submits the proposal with enthusiasm.

Winslow Carlton
Chairman of the Board

INTRODUCTION

This proposal calls for the mounting of a major experimental or demonstration program to attack the problem of juvenile delinquency -- a program which combines the resources of some of the oldest and most renowned institutions in the field of community welfare and of a great University.

A demonstration program is neither a program of research nor a program of action, but a closely integrated combination of both. The purpose of such a program is to provide evidence of the effectiveness of certain activities directed to altering or changing some undesirable social condition. Such evidence can only be supplied if the research and action operations are jointly planned and prosecuted. This point of view underlies the present submission; we intend that this proposal should be understood as an effort to bring together the actionist and the researcher in a joint program of social engineering.

Two types of theory are required to underpin a demonstration program. One body of theory should provide a framework for understanding the sources of the social condition which is to be changed; the other should consist of a framework for altering or modifying that condition. During the planning period, intensive work has been devoted to these theoretical tasks. A new perspective on the sources of juvenile delinquency has been developed and published separately.[1] This theory represents an effort to extend and to refine two great intellectual traditions: the theory of anomie, as exemplified in the work of Emile Durkheim and Robert K. Merton, and the theory of culture transmission and differential association, as exemplified in the work of Clifford R. Shaw, Henry D. McKay and Edwin H. Sutherland.

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[1] Richard A. Cloward and Lloyd E. Ohlin, Delinquency and Opportunity: A Theory of Delinquent Gangs, Glencoe, Ill., The Free Press, 1960, 220 pp.

An appropriate program of action is not necessarily self-evident once a theory of causation has been evolved; it cannot simply be assumed that once we know what the trouble is we will have little difficulty remedying it. The task of developing a theory of action which is consistent with the theory of causation is, of course, immense. This is a primary reason why two years have been devoted to the planning and preparation of this proposal. During this period, action and research personnel have attempted to fashion a general theory of action and a set of specific programs which are consistent with the theory of causation with which the project begins. The results of this effort comprise the bulk of this proposal.

One of the virtues of an adequately conceived demonstration program is that when terminated, it should be able to describe the relationship between what was done and what happened as a result of what was done. That is, it should be able to provide us with evidence of the effectiveness of various procedures designed to ameliorate some social problem. From these results, new and improved procedures may be developed, and in this way continuity from one program to another can be established. However, many attacks upon delinquency in the past have suffered from a lack of adequate evaluatory measures. As a result, one cannot learn as much as might otherwise have been possible from the experiences of these programs. It is important, therefore, that carefully designed measures be constructed, tested and made ready before a program of services is inaugurated. This too has been accomplished during the planning period.

In addition, the first phase of our proposed evaluation program has already been achieved. This phase consisted of establishing a "baseline" against which future changes in the community, such as those resulting from the action program, can be measured. We established this baseline in large part through three large-scale community surveys which entailed approximately 2,000 intensive interviews with adults, adolescents, and leaders of local organizations. A description of these surveys is contained in the proposal. The interviewing phase of the community surveys was conducted under the able direction of Mr. Paul Sheatsley, Eastern Representative of the National Opinion Research Center, and Mrs. Pearl Zinner, NORC Field Representative.

An important aspect of a project such as Mobilization for Youth is the soundness of its relationships with the local community -- its institutions, leadership, and residents. This goal has been achieved. The representatives of local institutions, of Columbia University, and the staff of the project have worked together during the planning period in a truly cooperative effort.

The staff wishes to acknowledge the invaluable assistance which it has received from the members of its Board of Directors, its Chairman, Mr. Winslow Carlton, and its Vice-chairman, Mr. Howard G. Janover and Dean P. Frederick DelliQuadri.

The Operating Committee, composed of the professional members of the Board, under the Chairmanship of Miss Helen Hall, has been especially helpful in developing program perspectives and plans.[2] The sub-committee of the Operating Committee included: Community Organization -- Chairman, Mr. Martin Livenstein; Deviant Groups -- Chairman, Mr. Louis Berkowitz; Education -- Chairman, Mr. Paul Bisgaier, who was officially assigned to work with the project on a full-time basis by Dr. John J. Theobald, Superintendent of Schools; Employment -- Chairman, Mr. Geoffrey Wiener; Health Services -- Chairman, Rev. William Reed; Specialized Services to Groups -- Chairman, Mr. Arthur Cohn; Specialized Services to Individuals and Families -- Co-chairmen, Mr. Victor Remer and Miss Olive Swoboda; Public Relations --

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[2] The members of the Community Advisory Committees are listed in Appendix Ad.

Chairman, Rev. George Younger; Recruitment and Personnel -- Chairman, Miss Rose Miller. The Deviant Group Subcommittee developed a special task force on narcotics under the Chairmanship of Ralph Tefferteller.

The Board of Directors also established a standing Committee on Religious Institutions. Mr. Andrew Oliver, Vestryman of Trinity Parish, was Chairman of this Committee until new responsibilities required him to resign from the Board. All of the clergymen who are members of the Board are also members of this committee.

The staff also wishes to express its gratitude to Associate Dean Mitchell I. Ginsberg and to Professor Herman D. Stein, Director, Research Center, both of the New York School of Social Work, for their support and assistance throughout this project.

Contributions to this proposal were made by other groups and individuals too numerous to mention, including many city and state departments.

Special reference should also be made to assistance rendered in the areas of education and employment. The recommendations for school programs stemmed from many sources in the Mobilization area. Deep appreciation is due for the cooperation and counsel of Mrs. Florence S. Becker, Assistant Superintendent of Districts 1-2-3-4, Mrs. Josephine S. O'Brien, previous Assistant Superintendent of Districts 5-7-9, and Edward Scalea, present Assistant Superintendent of Districts 5-7-9. Mr. Paul Bisgaier, principal of Public School 15, Manhattan, conducted searching interviews with the principals, district coordinators, and other members of the professional staff of schools in the Mobilization area, others outside the area and key personnel at the Board of Education. These educators gave freely of their time and shared their insights gathered from years of significant service. The Education Committee was responsible for many ideas and suggestions incorporated in the proposal.

In the field of employment, marked appreciation is due to the National Committee on Employment of Youth, which, under the direction of Mr. Eli Cohen, contributed significantly to the development of the employment programs.

This proposal is submitted in the conviction that, if the program is implemented, the Mobilization area will become one of expanding opportunity for its youth and their families, that the community will develop greater competence in coping with its problems, and that new knowledge and technology in regard to human problems will result. In addition, it will provide the example, experience, and expertise required for the development of similar programs -- in other areas of New York City, as well as urban neighborhoods across the country. In the possibility of its replication elsewhere lies a major promise of the Mobilization experiment.

The Staff

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE PROPOSAL

The essence of the Mobilization for Youth is contained in the body of this document (Chapters I - VII). Chapter III, AN OVERVIEW OF THE PROGRAM OF ACTION, and Chapter V, AN OVERVIEW OF THE RESEARCH PROGRAM, are essentially summaries. Special appendices have been prepared in which the action and research programs are described in much greater detail. These appendices should be consulted if more complete information on any aspect of the plan is desired. Some repetition of material between these two chapters and their corresponding appendices was unavoidable.

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Chapter I

THE PROJECT COMMUNITY

In this chapter, we shall consider three aspects of the project community. First, data on juvenile delinquency in the area, gathered from a variety of sources, will be presented and discussed. Second, we shall describe the major population characteristics of the community. Finally, we shall describe the rich and varied institutional resources which may be drawn upon in the course of this large-scale program to combat juvenile delinquency.

Juvenile Delinquency in the Mobilization Area

Delinquent behavior, like any form of social behavior, can be studied from a variety of viewpoints, each of which will yield a different picture of the problem. In this section, we shall base our description on the following sources: (1) newspaper accounts; (2) the reports of a sample of adults residing in the project area; (3) social-agency informants and interviews with gang members; and (4) official data provided to the New York City Youth Board by the police and the courts.

Newspaper Accounts

New York newspapers over the years have given extensive coverage to delinquency in the Lower East Side. In lieu of a citywide study of public perceptions of the area, we present below excerpts from news reports upon which a public evaluation may in part rest.

The New York Times is regarded as one of the least sensational newspapers in the country, and it therefore can be expected to project a conservative public image of reported acts of delinquency. The following articles appeared during the period from May through September 1961.

"Suspect Is Seized in Fatal Muggings": On May 31, 1961, the Times reported (p. 25) that a "16-year old youth was seized yesterday as the killer of a 76-year-old retired plumber in a mugging Monday night in the Baruch Houses" (a low-income public-housing project located in the Mobilization area). The mugging took place in the elevator of one of the residential buildings, and the weapon used was a sawed-off .22-caliber rifle. The rifle and a sawed-off shotgun were found in the home of a friend of the killer, who said he had bought them from a narcotics addict for $25.

The 16-year-old youth confessed to the mugging, but two boys aged 15 and a fourth boy, aged 14, were also involved in the incident. These youths were reported to be members of the "Baruch Men, a social but not a fighting club." The police reported that the mugging was carried out in order to obtain money for one of the 15-year-olds, who wished to buy a pair of shoes. To locate the attackers, "Lieutenant Quinn said that . . . thirty detectives questioned about 200 boys and youths in a door-to-door search of the Lower East Side." The boys had Spanish surnames, but the story did not identify them as Puerto Ricans. The victim was apparently of a different ethnic background, possibly Jewish.

"Boys on Pier Rob Rescuer in Water — Steal Effects of Policeman Who Was Saving Man": On August 10, 1961, the Times reported (p. 25), "A gang of teen-agers on a pier last evening stole the cap, shoes, and money of a policeman who had leaped into the water to save a man." Before stealing these items the youth had been throwing stones at policemen who were dragging the river off Catherine Slip (located in the southeast section of the Mobilization area) for the body of a 14-year-old boy. The policemen had chased the youth away, but when the police became preoccupied with saving a middle-aged man who had attempted suicide, the boys returned and stole the items. The youngsters were not identified and presumably were not caught.

"Police Alarmed by Mob Attacks": A lengthy special report on this topic began on the front page of the August 21, 1961, issue of the New York *Times.* The article reported that in the first six months of 1961 there had been 1,171 attacks on New York policemen who were trying to make arrests. Police were alarmed by the "increasing public participation in the attacks," an increase in the number of policemen injured, and "the upward trend in the last ten years." The report noted the police conclusion that "the greatest incidence of assaults on police is in the slum areas of Harlem, the Lower East Side of Manhattan, the Brownsville and Bedford-Stuyvesant areas of Brooklyn, South Jamaica in Queens, and the South Bronx."

"Bystander on East Side Is Killed by Brick Thrown at Policeman": On the front page of the *Times* of August 29, 1961, was a report that "a brick hurled at a policeman from a tenement roof killed a bystander on the Lower East Side last night." The incident occurred on East Fourth Street, between Avenue C and D (located in the northern part of the Mobilization area). Two policemen were reported to have responded to a complaint that a man was shooting at children with a rifle. "As they subdued a 19-year-old, a hostile crowd milled about." Several objects "hurtled down from a roof," fatally injuring a 43-year-old man.

The *Times* followed up this story the next day with an article headed: "2 Youths Charged in Brick Killing" (p. 19). The suspects were identified as 17- and 18-year-old boys who were alleged to have been on a nearby roof when the police were questioning the 19-year-old about the reported man with a rifle. The police charged that the two younger boys had thrown bricks at them in an attempt "to help the man get away." The 17-year-old had previously been arrested for burglary, and the 18-year-old had been arrested on a robbery charge; they were both charged with homicide as a result of this incident. Both youths had Spanish surnames, as did the victim.

"Mayoralty Candidate Sees Swing to G. O. P.": This story, in the September 11, 1961, issue of the Times, was apparently political in content but revealed to readers how Puerto Rican youth on the Lower East Side might have been viewing the then-current political campaign in New York City. In this story the following incident was recorded:

> The new Puerto Rican element in the neighborhood was represented by William. . ., 18 years old. . ., who said he was a member of the Dragons. The youth demanded to know what the mayoralty candidate would do about neighborhood policemen, whom he accused of brutality and crookedness.

On the basis of these newspaper items, readers of the Times might have formed the following image of the Lower East Side:

1. The area contains youthful muggers, thieves, police attackers, and narcotics addicts.
2. These delinquents are between 14 and 19 years of age.
3. Puerto Rican youth may be heavily involved in delinquencies in the area.
4. All the reported delinquencies were perpetrated by groups of youth, some of which, like the Baruch Men and the Dragons, have names.
5. Young people resist police efforts at social control and justify their resistance by charging the police with "brutality and crookedness."
6. The Lower East Side is an unsafe slum, since even policemen are victims of theft and violence.

Resident Perceptions

Residents of the Mobilization area themselves see local juvenile behavior as a serious problem. A sample of 988 adults living in the area was asked to choose which of the five problem areas was the "biggest," the next biggest, and the least serious "around here." The problems were transportation, the public schools, city police protection, teen agers' behavior, and the behavior of certain racial groups. About 40 percent of the respondents (403 out of 988) ranked teen-age behavior as the biggest problem. Furthermore, 234 (40 percent) of the 585 respondents who had mentioned some other problem as the "biggest" ranked teen-age behavior as the next biggest. Thus a total of 64.5 percent of the respondents considered teen-age behavior the biggest or next-biggest problem. Only 19 out of 988 (1.9 percent) considered it the least important problem.

The respondents were also asked to estimate the percentage of the teenagers in the neighborhood who were juvenile delinquents. The median response was 28.6 percent. The respondents were then asked to rate the seriousness of certain teen-age behaviors — i.e., "Is it something to worry about or just a part of growing up?" Table 1 shows the number and percentage of respondents who thought the various kinds of behavior were "a very serious problem."

Table 1. "Serious Problems" among Juvenile Behaviors
(N=988)

	Respondents Designating Behavior as "Very Serious"	
Type of Behavior	Number	Percent
Using dope	952	96.4
Damaging or stealing things	933	94.4
Gang fighting	907	91.8
Hanging around in gangs	759	76.8
Drinking	758	76.7
Picking on little kids	675	68.3
Staying out late at night	611	61.8
Cursing	441	44.6
Dressing sloppily	236	23.9

Social-Agency Informants and Interviews with Gang Members

If there is a public image of the Mobilization district as gang-infested, it is accurate, if we are to believe materials obtained from interviews with social-agency workers in direct contact with gangs in the area, participation in meetings of agency representatives, and structured interviews with and observations of gang members. These data were gathered from July 1960 to June 1961.

Known gangs of concern to social agencies: The most widely known gangs are those which have a reputation for engaging in or having a potential for conflict activities (gang fighting or "bopping"). In the summer of 1960, the gangs reported were the Sportsmen (Avenue D and East Houston Street area), the Eastmen (3rd and 4th Streets and Avenue C area), the Henry Street Dragons (Henry and Montgomery Streets), and the Centaurians (Smith Project area).

The Sportsmen, actually a coalition of the Conservative Gents (Negro) and the Masadors (Puerto Rican), retired from the conflict arena in the winter of 1959 after a hectic summer and fall with the Forsyth Street Boys (a non-Mobilization-area gang).

The Eastmen collectivity also appears to have been a symbolic name for smaller gang groupings. These gangs are known to Grand Street Settlement as the Unicorns, the Cadillacs, and the Young Lords. Members of these gangs engage in delinquent activities, but the gangs are not active conflict groups. These boys are currently avoiding the name "Eastmen" and prefer to be called the "Baruch Men" (see the first newspaper item).

The Henry Street Dragons are a different grouping. They have had the opprobrious name "Junky Dragons" attached to them recently, since their core membership has become heavily addicted to drugs. The younger group affiliated with the Dragons has adopted the name of Bopping Ballerinos. However, their involvement in gang fighting has been sporadic; individual brawls with members of other gangs have predominated. The group as a whole is more drug-oriented than bop-oriented.

The Centaurians, formed in 1957, were an integrated unit of Puerto Rican and Negro boys until the winter of 1958. At that time the ethnic groupings split into the Smith Boys (Negro) and the Centaurians (Puerto Rican).

Apparently the Sportsmen and the Centaurians dropped out of gang-fighting at about the same time, the winter of 1959. The younger Smith Boys were reported to have a "bopping potential," but they have thus far engaged in only one major foray into enemy territory.

Besides the gangs with a present or former conflict reputation, other groups that engage in delinquent activities are known to social agencies. In the Smith Project area are the Italian groups known as the Monroe Street Boys and the Roman Dukes. The latter group is the contemporary gang descendant of the Warrior Dukes.

In the Henry Street area known as "Little Africa" there is a young group called the Vikings which is descended from the older Viscounts.

In the Eastmen area are two older adolescent groups which have a delinquent reputation -- the Persians on Ridge Street and the Stanton Street Gents. The latter appear to be descendants of the Pitt Street Dragons (one of the earliest Puerto Rican gangs to be found in the Mobilization area).

In summary, the Mobilization area is studded with delinquent gangs, but not all of them engage predominantly in gang fighting. The area also has a gang "tradition".

Reported behavior of the gangs: Each of the gangs appear to have a high proportion of members who are either truants or school dropouts. With the possible exception of the Monroe Street Boys, all the groups contain some members who have an official record with the police or juvenile-court authorities. The offenses include burglary, robbery, larceny, assault, disorderly conduct, auto theft, and narcotics usage and selling.

These boys also have stayed out late at night from an early age, are aggressive in their relationships with peers, defy the rules administered by adults in social agencies and schools, mishandle and sometimes destroy private and public property, are sexually promiscuous, endeavor to get "high" on liquor, beer, wine or "pot" (marijuana), and are knowledgeable about the assembly and use of weapons. Conflict and non-conflict gangs appear to share these behavioral characteristics.

The gangs appear to differ in the following ways:

Some gangs (the Stanton Street Gents, for example) tolerate members who openly claim that they have allowed a homosexual to use them sexually in exchange for money, clothes, or other material favors.

Some gangs (e.g., the Ballerinos, Smith Boys, Centaurians, Eastmen, Persians, and Viscounts) tolerate experimentation with heroin or cocaine; others (e.g., the Gents of the Sportsmen era) permit the smoking of "pot" but not the use of addicting drugs; others (the Monroe Street Boys and the Dukes) prohibit all drugs and allow only liquor.

Some gangs tolerate extreme violence against non-members who are of another ethnic group but rarely permit it in squabbles with fellow-ethnics. The Monroe Street Boys, for example, harass Negroes and Puerto Ricans, but not Italians.

Trends in conflict behavior: In the Mobilization area, the major conflict gangs in the decade of the 1950's were the Sportsmen, Dragons, and Centaurians. Each of these gangs was comprised of minority-group members who originally banded together to battle the Italians and Irish who claimed exclusive jurisdiction over the local neighborhoods.

The Sportsmen fought and won an accommodation with the Italians over the use of the East River Drive park facilities. The Dragons (from both Pitt Street and Henry Street) fought against the Mayrose (Italian and Irish) gang for the right to use Henry Street Settlement, which the Mayroses claimed as a possession. After having won the battle, the Dragons zealously guarded their new "turf" against the Sportsmen, who desired to use the nearby facilities at Trinity Parish. In 1957 the Puerto Rican and Negro youth in the Smith public-housing project formed the Centaurians to force the discontinuance of street harassment by other groups, and to ensure their access to Hamilton-Madison (settlement) House facilities.

During the past decade, the Lower East Side has had a city-wide reputation as an area of conflict gangs. However, the major fighting gangs in the Mobilization area began to subside by the winter of 1959. The present generation that might logically have graduated from juniors to seniors in gang systems does not seem to be attracted to fighting over "turfs." Rather, they seem to be accepting the accommodations between groups that have evolved and display a reluctance to organize fighting gangs, even in the face of goading by some older youth. Summer is the time feared most by social agencies, but in the summers of 1960 and 1961 there was not one major fight known to these agencies. Bopping, it would appear, has gone out of fashion, at least temporarily - but this cannot be said of other forms of delinquent behavior.

Trends in drug use: According to knowledgeable informants, addiction was not a problem until the early 1950's, when Italian and Irish youth who were fighting off the inroads of the "newcomers" (Puerto Ricans and Negroes) in the Henry Street and Catherine Street areas began using and pushing heroin. At that time their source of supply apparently was East Harlem.

In the Henry Street area, members of the Mayrose sold heroin to their enemies, the Dragons, and these Puerto Rican youth began to take up the habit of drug use. Most of these once-proud street warriors, now called Junky Dragons, and their families are well known to the staff members of the Henry Street Settlement. The staff reported that the younger Bopping Ballerinos are also using drugs heavily.

At present the block on Henry Street between Montgomery and Clinton Streets is known as "Junkies' Paradise" or "Junky Alley." Personnel of the LENA Narcotics Information Center, which has an office on that block, estimate that more than 50 addicts "hang around" the block, and about 15 of these attempt to "push the stuff." There are some Italian addicts who come to this block for their "fix," but the majority are Puerto Ricans and Negroes. The addicts number many former conflict-gang members, ranging in age from 16 to 30. There are few female users reported on this most visible addict block in the area. It is estimated that an addict on this block needs a minimum of $100 a week to support his habit.

In the Smith Project area, the Centaurians now have many members who use drugs. One agency worker estimated that at least half of the Smith Boys (the Negro unit) had tried "skin-popping" (non-vein injection) or "mainlining" (intravenous injection). This informant was able to name seven boys who are addicted. Trinity Parish has tried to work with many of the young Negro addicts. The Puerto Rican unit of the Centaurians also has a high rate of users. About half are reported to be using heroin. Ten of these youth are known to be addicted. (One of the Centaurians died of an overdose.)

The gangs comprising the Eastmen (Baruch Men) are also reported to be using drugs. Grand Street agency workers have found Cadillacs "sniffing" dope on the premises, and workers keep a door check to prevent known addicts from disrupting the evening programs. Evidently there is a good deal of "junk" pushed in the area of Rivington Street. (The former head of Grand Street Settlement House was able to name several youth in that area who died from an overdose of drugs.)

Around the Ridge Street area members of the Persians (17- and 18-year-old Negroes and Puerto Ricans) are also known to have used drugs. The Stanton

Street Gents have a similar reputation.

Until recently the Sportsmen were fond of bragging, "No Sportsman ever became a junky." There are clear signs that this boast can no longer be made. While the core members of the Gents do not yet "mainline," peripheral members and Masadors have begun "shooting up." Pushing of drugs is reported to take place on 3rd and 4th Streets, around Avenue C.

Except in a subgroup of the Smith Boys, there do not appear to be any "cool" stylistic embellishments associated with drug use in the area. The members of this subgroup, aged 16 to 21, attempt to act in a very sophisticated manner, aloof from the worldly concerns of the humdrum life about them. They say that addiction is "only in the head" and that if one uses "brains" drug use can be stopped at any time. In playing the part of the "cool cat" they emphasize their interest in jazz and their contacts in the world of jazz. Four of the seven boys in this clique are ex-boppers.

Youth in the area have made, and continue to make, a sharp distinction between "pot" and "stuff." They are aware that marijuana is non-addicting and chip in to buy $5.00 bags for a weekend "high." Many non-gang boys also smoke "pot," regarding it as most of the youth of the 1920's and 30's viewed plain cigarettes -- a forbidden "kick." Marijuana use is reported to be so prevalent in the area that many pushers are unwilling to carry this line of goods, since the high demand has resulted in heavy competition among suppliers and consequent reduction of profits. If present trends continue, marijuana is likely to become as acceptable as cigarettes among Negro and Puerto Rican youth.

Trends in delinquent types: The styles of delinquent youth in the Mobilization area can be described in three major categories, each with a distinctive variant:

1. The tough guy: The tough-guy type has been represented in all ethnic groups in the area at one time or another. The tough guy attempts to give an air of daring bravado to his acts of truancy, stealing, fighting, sex, defiance of rules and adults, and getting "high." As the youth themselves put it, the tough guy loves to "ball bust." He often engages in delinquent behavior impulsively, with little regard for its risks. This type appears, or has appeared, in every gang we have mentioned. In the conventional world tough guys are considered "hoods" or "young punks."

Beginning of tough-guy behavior can be found in many pre-adolescent groups in the area. It is this type of boy that the Educational Alliance and Henry Street Settlement have tried to reach through their "pre-delinquent programs."

Many youngsters abandon tough-guy behavior and adopt conventional roles as they leave adolescence. Youth who have difficulty in relinquishing this role are often joshed for engaging in actions that are "kid stuff." However, some older adolescents have difficulty in "settling down" and continue to "act hard."

The "bop" is a special subtype of the tough guy which flourished in the area through the 1950's. The bop engaged in all the delinquent activities practiced by other tough guys, but he exaggerated and emphasized violence. He often got "busted" (arrested by the police) for activities not related to gang fighting. The bouncing walk and the "hard look" can still be found among some older youth, but the spirit of "heart" has generally died out.

2. The hustler: The hustler is usually an older youth who seeks to earn a livelihood by engaging in illegal activities, but who eschews violence. He prefers a "racket"— conning, pushing, burglarizing, shoplifting, pimping, or accepting money from his girl friends. Although he may become proficient in techniques of petty crime, his connections with organized rackets are peripheral and weak. He also lacks the necessary contacts to put in the fix if he is arrested.

Many tough guys engage in hustles, but they appear to be unmindful of the calculations of risk that a true hustler makes. The tough guy cannot become a hustler until he learns to value his "brain" more than his daring. Many youth find hustling as difficult as legitimate work and consequently fluctuate between acting tough, working, and hustling. Such unsystematic criminalistic behavior appears to be most prevalent among Negro youth at present. They label one variant of this the "slickster." The slickster is a more refined hustler. He views the legitimate jobs available to him as menial and not worth his "slaving" efforts. He avoids even nonviolent forms of stealing. He brags about "being into something" that has a quasi-legal "front." Boys who try to give the impression of being "cool bops" identify with this style. There are signs that the slickster model is becoming increasingly attractive to boys who might have been bops in bygone years.

3. The user: There is unanimous agreement among those who are begining to use drugs, as well as among non-users, that the lowest type of user is the "junky" -- that is, a person who has lost all self-control and who will do anything for a "fix." However, few users believe that they will ever descend to that status, although many users in fact become addicted and slip into this abhorrent role. When this happens, they will steal from a church, friends, or relatives to obtain money for their "fix." Many addicts and other users solve their financial problems by "pushing" drugs or engaging in other forms of hustling. Thus they inhabit both the hustling and drug worlds.

Among the Smith clique, some users try to appear "cool" about drug use, attempting to act the role of the slickster. There are not many such boys in the Mobilization area, for it is difficult to appear indifferent when one needs more and more shots to feel the "kick." More shots, of course, mean more money, and few addicts can afford the slickster's selectivity.

As we have indicated, there is abundant evidence that the number of junky-type users is increasing. Gang boys and ex-gang boys appear to be proportionately represented among the junkies inhabiting the area. Members of gangs which are tolerant of experimentation with narcotics are likely to get "hooked" at an early age. The "high" seems to have replaced "heart" as the dominant motif of delinquency.

Ethnic and class distribution of delinquent types: The current generation of Jewish youth does not appear to participate in delinquent activities. The last all-Jewish group with a "tough" reputation (the Cherry Park Boys) went out of existence around 1951. According to informants, a few members of this group went on to bigger thefts, a few drifted into using narcotics, and about four tried to work their way into the policy rackets. Only one Jewish boy was reported as currently in a gang -- the Eastmen. This youth is on probation for carrying a "piece" (gun). Grand Street Settlement and the Boys' Club reported knowledge of a few Jewish boys engaged in stealing. The few Jewish delinquents apparently live in tenements rather in the middle-income co-ops.

The number of Italian youth in the area's delinquent gangs has also declined in the past decade. The remaining Italian delinquents are mainly in two gangs around the Smith public-housing project. One gang, called the Dukes, is reported to be essentially a "tough guy" group. The other known gang, the Monroe Street Boys, is said to gamble for heavy stakes and to beat up younger members of other ethnic groups. Nevertheless, the Monroe Street Boys, the members of which live in Knickerbocker Village (a private housing project) and in the surrounding tenements, does not have as tough a reputation as the Dukes. Both groups as such avoid marijuana and drugs, although some members are known to be addicts.

Most Negro youth live in the public-housing projects in the area, but some reside in tenements near Avenue D and on Montgomery Street. An unknown proportion of these youth has engaged in tough-guy, hustling, and user activities. They tend to come from very low-income families.

Puerto Rican youth comprise the largest group of adolescents in the Mobilization area. Their families are recent migrants, and household earnings come primarily from low-paying, unskilled jobs. Since Puerto Ricans are the most numerous adolescent segment, the delinquencies of this group have been the most visible. However, the proportion of this group that has actually engaged in delinquent activities is unknown at present. Tough guy and drug-use patterns seem to predominate among those Puerto Rican youth who are delinquent.

Little is known about the other ethnic groups in the area, particularly the youth of eastern European origin, who live in the northwest part.

Data from Official Sources

As of this writing, the only source of official delinquency statistics is the New York City Youth Board, which has published data on offenses by health areas (groups of adjacent U.S. census tracts) for 1951, 1957, and 1960 (see Table 2). A special tabulation provided by the Youth Board of unpublished data for the years 1957 and 1960 shows offenses for two age groups (seven through 15, and 16 through 20) by processing agencies [1] -- the Children's Court, the Youth Division of the Police Department, and the Bureau of Identification of the Police Department (see Table 3). [2]

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[1] Because of the relatively small percentage of offenders represented by children younger than seven -- only 0.94 percent of all delinquents in New York City in 1955 — this age group is excluded from the population base used for computing the delinquency rates. New York City Youth Board, Juvenile Delinquency Profile: 1955, Mimeographed, New York: New York City Youth Board, 1956, Table 12, p. 13.

[2] See *ibid.*, p. 2, for a description of the offenders processed by each agency.

As Table 2 shows, the rate of delinquency in the Mobilization area was somewhat lower than the rate for Manhattan as a whole in all three years, but it was consistently much higher than the New York City rate. The rate of increase from 1951 to 1960 was greater in the project area than in either Manhattan or New York City. The number of offenses per 1000 youth aged seven through 20 years in the Lower East Side was 28.7 in 1951 and 62.8 in 1960, an increase of 118.8 percent, while the rates of increase for Manhattan and New York City over the same time span were, respectively, 97.7 percent and 110.9 percent. Closer examination of the changes shows a still more serious trend. Although in the period from 1957 to 1960 the delinquency rate and the rate of increase in the project area both were still slightly below those for Manhattan, the rate of increase for one health area (72) surpassed that for the borough and for the city as a whole. One-third of the seven-through 20-year-old population in the Mobilization district lives in this health area, located in the project's geographical center. Most of the members of most of the active conflict and drug-using adolescent gangs (the Sportsmen, Eastmen, Persians, and Stanton Street Gents) also live in this area.

Adolescent delinquency is obscured by combining all age groups in the same delinquency rate. A higher proportion of the low-delinquency age group (seven through 10 years) lives in the Lower East Side than lives in either Manhattan or the city as a whole. This age group contributed only 9.0 percent of the total delinquents in New York City in 1955, while the 11-through-15 group contributed 55.7 percent.[3] The effect of a difference in the age distributions of the populations can be seen by comparing the Mobilization area's observed delinquency rate with its delinquency rate standardized for the two age groups for which delinquency statistics are available (Table 3, Part II). These differences are small, but they demonstrate our point. Had we the necessary data to split the younger age group into two groups, the differences would be somewhat greater. As for the specific rates in the various categories, it is worth noting that in 1960 the rate for the most serious offenses (arrests of youths aged 16 through 20) was 23 percent higher than the comparable rate for Manhattan and 78.9 percent greater than that for New York City (Table 3, Part I).

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[3] *Ibid*, Table 12, p. 13.

Table 2. Juvenile-Delinquency Rates, New York City, 1951, 1957, and 1960*

	Offenses per 1,000 youth Aged 7 - 20 years			Percentage Change		
	1951	1957	1960	1951-57	1957-60	1951-60
Health Area 63	38.8	46.3	46.4	19.3	0.2	19.6
67	27.2	59.9	66.8	120.2	11.5	145.6
72**	25.7	43.2	82.0	68.1	89.8	219.1
78	23.9	45.5	43.9	90.4	-3.5	83.7
80	35.5	62.3	67.6	75.5	8.5	90.4
Total MFY Area	28.7	49.2	62.8	71.4	27.6	118.8
Manhattan	34.5	52.8	68.2	53.0	29.2	97.7
New York City	20.1	37.9	42.4	88.6	11.9	110.9

* The population bases were obtained from the 1950, 1957, and 1960 U.S. Censuses of Population. See also the following: New York City Youth Board, Juvenile Delinquency Profile: 1955, 1956, Part 2, Table 3, p. 47; New York City Youth Board, Indices of Social Problems, Mimeographed, 1960; New York City Youth Board, Social Problems, Mimeographed, New York: 1960, Table Vc, pp. 59-60; New York City Youth Board, Juvenile Delinquency Statistics: 1960, Mimeographed, 1961; U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population: 1950, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1952, Vol. III, Census Tract Statistics, pp. 85-86; U.S. Bureau of the Census, Special Census of New York City, April 1, 1957, Manhattan Borough, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1958, Current Population Reports, Special Censuses, Series P - 28, No. 1156, Table 4, pp. 4-16; U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population and Housing: 1960, Population and Housing Characteristics for Census Tracts, New York City, Advance Table PH - 1, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1961: U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population: 1960, General Population Characteristics, New York, Final Report PC (1) -34B, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1961, Table 20, p.86.

** Health Areas 72, 73, and 76 were combined in 1960 to form Health Area 76. For Purposes of comparison they have been combined for the years 1951 and 1957 as well.

Table 3 - (Part I). Age-Specific Delinquency Rates by Processing Agency and Age-Standardized Delinquency Rates, New York City, 1957 and 1960*

		Children's Court Arrests and Petitions Per 1,000 Youth Aged 7 - 15			Youth Arrests (Bureau of Identification of the Police Dept.) Per 1,000 Youth Aged 16 - 20			Referrals to the Youth Division (Juvenile Aid Bureau of the Police Department)					
								Per 1,000 Youth Aged 7 - 15			Per 1,000 Youth Aged 16 - 20		
		1957	1960	Percentage Change	1957	1960	Percentage Change	1957	1960	Percentage Change	1957	1960	Percentage Change
Health Area	63	14.6	15.7	7.5	46.3	62.9	35.9	28.6	23.6	-17.5	12.2	7.0	-42.6
	67	17.5	24.6	40.6	73.2	65.7	-10.2	33.4	40.1	20.1	8.9	6.1	-31.5
	72	16.0	25.9	61.9	45.5	93.9	106.4	23.7	48.6	105.1	9.1	13.5	48.4
	78	14.2	13.0	-8.5	55.6	58.0	4.3	26.1	24.1	-7.7	7.7	9.0	16.9
	80	19.9	24.8	24.6	59.7	79.3	32.8	41.2	35.5	-13.8	5.8	7.6	31.0
Total MFY Area		16.1	20.6	28.0	54.6	73.9	35.3	28.6	35.6	24.5	8.6	9.4	9.3
Manhattan		16.6	18.3	10.2	43.5	60.1	38.2	35.8	49.8	39.1	10.4	8.5	-18.3
New York City		11.3	12.9	14.2	29.3	41.3	41.0	27.3	27.8	1.8	6.9	4.7	-31.9

Table 3 - (Part II)

	Total Offenses Per 1,000 Youth Aged 7 - 20			Age-Standardized Rate of Offenses Per 1,000 Youth Aged 7 - 20 (New York City Population 1960 as Standard)		
	1957	1960	Percentage Change	1957	1960	Percentage Change
Health Area 63	46.3	46.4	0.2	48.1	49.0	1.9
67	59.9	66.8	11.5	60.9	67.0	10.0
72	43.2	82.0	89.8	44.4	85.0	91.4
78	45.5	43.9	-3.5	47.6	46.7	-1.9
80	62.3	67.6	8.5	62.5	68.7	9.9
Total MFY Area	49.2	62.8	27.6	50.6	64.8	28.1
Manhattan	52.8	68.2	29.2	52.8	68.2	29.2
New York City	37.9	42.4	11.9	37.8	42.4	12.2

*Unpublished data from the New York City Youth Board: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Special Census of New York City, April 1, 1957, Manhattan Borough, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1958; Current Population Reports, Special Censuses, Series P - 28, No. 1156, Table 4, pp. 4-16; U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population and Housing: 1960, Population and Housing Characteristics for Census Tracts, New York City, Advance Table PH - 1, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1961; U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population: 1960, General Population Characteristics, New York, Final Report PC (1) - 34B, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1961, Table 20, p. 86.

Demographic Characteristics of the Mobilization Area

Mobilization's service area in Manhattan's Lower East Side consists of the following census tracts and coterminous health areas (1960 definitions):

Health Area	Census Tracts
63	24, 28
67	26
72	10.0, 10.1, 12, 20, 22
78	6, 8, 25, 27
80	2

The area is bounded by East 14th Street, the East River, Brooklyn Bridge, St. James Place, Pearl Street, Park Row, Chatham Square, Division Street, Canal Street, Rutgers Street, East Broadway, Grand Street, Rivington Street, Clinton Street, and Avenue B. The Mobilization area thus occupies a large portion of the district that has traditionally been called the Lower East Side but is not coterminous with it. Throughout this proposal, however, residents of the Mobilization area are informally referred to as residents of the Lower East Side.

This section describes selected housing and population characteristics of the area and the employment and income of its residents. Except where otherwise indicated, the data are from Mobilization's adult survey, conducted in the spring of 1961.

Housing

Within the Mobilization area are six low-income public-housing projects, three middle-income cooperatives, and one private project (Knickerbocker Village). Under construction or proposed are four more middle-income cooperatives, two low-income public-housing projects, and an extension of one of the existing low-income projects to be used exclusively for old people. Further redevelopment is in the planning stage.[4]

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[4] Milton Pulakos, The LENA Plan for Urban Living, Mimeographed, New York, Lower Eastside Neighborhoods Association, 1961.

Table 4. Housing Units by Type*

Type of Housing	Number of Housing Units	Percentage Distribution
Tenements (non-project housing)	18,903	55.7
Public-housing projects	10,729	31.6
Cooperatives	2,715	8.0
Knickerbocker Village	1,585	4.7
	33,932	100.00

* U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population and Housing: 1960, Population and Housing Characteristics for Census Tracts, New York City, Advance Table PH - 1 (photocopy), Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1961.

Substandard housing: Substandard housing is defined as housing that is lacking hot water, cold running water, private bath, or private toilet, or that is deteriorating or dilapidated. Since the low-income housing projects and middle-income cooperatives are reasonably well maintained and were constructed with all the basic plumbing features, the substandard housing units may be presumed to be almost entirely within the older tenements. Thus, in 1960, 62.4 percent of the tenement housing units (35.6 percent of all the housing units in the area) were classified as substandard.[5]

Overcrowding: An overcrowded housing unit is defined here as one which has more than one person per room.[6] By this definition, 28.5 percent of the households with more than one person are overcrowded. By color, this breaks down to 26.3 percent for whites and 43.5 percent for the non-whites.

Vacancies: The available vacancies in the area in 1960 were only 0.9 percent of the total housing units. About 1.4 percent of the units in the old tenements were vacant and available for rent, but only 0.2 percent of the public-housing and cooperative units were vacant.[7]

Population

According to the 1960 Census, the total population of the Mobilization area was 107,591. Except for a slight increase in 1950, the population has been decreasing steadily since 1910, when it hit a peak of 299,459. During the past 20 years, the trend appears to have levelled off, as may be seen from Table 5:

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5. U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population and Housing: 1960, Population and Housing Characteristics for Census Tracts, New York City, Advance Table PH - 1 (photocopy), Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1961. The criteria are those used by the Bureau of the Census for classifying housing conditions.

6. Ibid. "1.01 or more persons per room" is the criterion used in the 1960 U.S. Census.

7. Ibid.

Table 5. Population of Mobilization Area*

Year of Census	Population
1900	246,052
1905	290,466
1910	299,459
1915	263,546
1920	228,725
1925	191,729
1930	138,952
1940	111,082
1950	116,686
1957	114,177
1960	107,591

* Walter Laidlaw, ed., Population of the City of New York: 1890-1930, New York; Census Committee, Inc., 1932, Table 15, p. 52, Table 16, p. 73; U.S. Bureau of the Census and Welfare Council of New York City, *Census Tract Data on Population and Housing, New York City: 1940*, New York: Welfare Council Committee on 1940 Census Tract Tabulations for New York City, 1942, Table C - 1, p. 143; *U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population: 1950*, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1952, Vol. III, *Census Tract Statistics*, Chap. 37, Table 1, pp. 85-86; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Special Census of New York City, April 1, 1957, Manhattan Borough*, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1958, current Population Reports, Special Censuses, Series P - 28, No. 1156, Table 4, pp. 4 - 16: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *U.S. Census of Population and Housing: 1960, on cit.*, p. 20.

The drop between 1957 and 1960 is largely attributable to the extensive demolition that occurred in that period in preparation for the construction of the housing projects mentioned earlier.

Ethnicity: The Mobilization area is a "cosmopolitan" district, in the sense that people of numerous ethnic and racial origins inhabit it. The estimated percentages of households by major ethnic categories in 1961 are as follows: [8]

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[8] Data are from Mobilization's Adult Survey. The following definitions apply to ethnic categories:

Jewish — The respondent identified his religion or his father's, when he claimed none for himself, as Jewish;

Italian — The respondent or his father was born in Italy;

Puerto Rican — The respondent or his father was born in Puerto Rico or identified himself as of Puerto Rican lineage (includes both whites and non-whites);

Negro — The interviewer identified the respondent as Negro (Puerto Ricans excluded);

Other white — All white respondents not included as Jewish, Italian, or Puerto Rican;

Other non-white — Respondents identified by the interviewer as Oriental.

In this table the cases for whom ethnicity is unknown have been prorated among the various categories. The classification in the table differs from that in Tables 8, 9 and 10, in which all respondents are classified according to color alone.

	Percent
Jewish	27
Italian	11
Other white	25
Negro	8
Other nonwhite	3
Puerto Rican	26
N = 988	100

Mobility: As Table 6 indicates, the population of the Mobilization area contains a large proportion of adults who are newcomers, and also a large proportion who are long-time residents. Almost one out of every four persons aged 20 years or older has lived in the area for less than five years, while three out of ten has lived there for 30 years or more. Comparable figures for New York City are not available. About half the population of the service area, then, consists of either newcomers to the area or very long-time residents.

Table 6. Length of Residence in the Mobilization Area (N = 988)

	Percent
Less than 5 years	22
5 - 12 years	30
13 - 29 years	17
30 years or more	30
	99

Traditionally, the Mobilization area has been the first stopping place for imigrants to this country. This characteristic may be changing. As Table 7 indicates, only 20 percent of the newcomers had lived outside the Continental United States immediately prior to taking up residence in the Mobilization area. Most of these person had migrated from Puerto Rico. The overwhelming majority of newcomers (about two-thirds) moved to the area from other parts of New York City-primarily other parts of Manhattan.

Table 7. Prior Residence of Those Living in the Mobilization Area Less Than Five Years (N = 215)

	Percent
Manhattan	41
Other New York City boroughs	27
Southern U.S.A.	2
Other parts of continental U.S.A.	10
Puerto Rico	13
Outside U.S.A.	7
	100

Age: The white and non-white portions of the population differ widely in age distribution, as may be seen from Table 8.

Table 8. Age Distribution of Population*

	White			Nonwhite		
Age	Number	Percent	Median Age	Number	Percent	Median Age
Under 20 yrs.	34,986	38.4	8.9	8,786	53.7	8.1
20-54 years	38,195	41.9	37.1	6,675	40.8	35.2
55 yrs. and over	18,038	19.8	66.6	911	5.6	62.6
	91,219	100.1	30.3	16,372	100.1	17.2

* U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population and Housing 1960, Population and Housing Characteristics for Census Tracts, New York City, Advance Table PH - 1 (photocopy), Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1961.

The difference in median age between the white and non-white populations reflects the considerably higher proportion of children and the much smaller proportion of elderly people in the non-white group. Within the three major age groups the differences in median age by color are much smaller, although the non-white population is consistently younger. The character of the age differentials would seem to reflect the traditionally higher fertility of the Negro population (which constitutes 79 percent of the non-white population of the Mobilization area) and the reluctance or inability of older Negroes to take up residence in the district. In the New York Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area, 12.2 percent of the non-white population is 55 years of age or older as compared with only 5.6 percent in the Mobilization area. For the white population comparable figures are 21.9 percent for the New York SMSA and 19.8 percent for the Mobilization area.[9]

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[9] U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population: 1960, General Population Characteristics, New York, Final Report PC (1) - 34B, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1961, Table 20, p. 63.

Education: Of the 988 adults interviewed, 36.9 percent (365) had completed less than eight years of school, 36.2 percent (358) had completed eight to 11 years of school, 14.9 percent (147) had completed 12 years (graduated from high school), 7.1 percent (70) had attended college, and 4.7 percent (46) had graduated from college. Two persons did not report their education.

Marital status: The Mobilization population has certain marital-status characteristics that differ from those of the New York SMSA. Of those ever married (excluding the widowed), the whites in the Mobilization area have a higher proportion divorced or separated than in the New York SMSA for both sexes. The proportions for the non-white population are reversed, being lower for the Mobilization area than for the New York SMSA.

Table 9. Percent Separated or Divorced of the Population That Has Ever Married (Excluding the Widowed)*

	Males		Females	
	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite
Percent Separated				
LES	2.8	3.9	7.0	15.6
NYSMSA	1.9	10.9	3.2	20.6
Percent Divorced				
LES	1.9	1.4	4.4	2.2
NYSMSA	1.6	2.3	3.1	4.7
Total Divorced or Separated				
LES	4.7	5.3	11.4	17.8
NYSMSA	3.5	13.2	6.3	25.3

* U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population 1960, General Population Characteristics, New York, Final Report PC (1) - 34B, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1961, Table 20, p. 63; and U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population and Housing: 1960, Population and Housing Characteristics for Census Tracts, New York City, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Commerce, 1961. The widowed are excluded from the base population to eliminate variance due to the large differences in proportions widowed between sex and color groups.

Another characteristic worthy of note is the fact that in the service area the percentage of divorced non-whites of both sexes was lower than the corresponding percentage of divorced whites whereas the reverse is observed for the New York SMSA.

The differences in the percent widowed reflect the lower proportion of aged persons in the Mobilization area's non-white population.

Table 10. Percent Widowed of the Population That Has Ever Been Married (Base Population Includes the Widowed)

	Males		Females	
	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite
LES	8.4	4.9	19.6	9.9
NYSMSA	5.5	6.2	17.1	17.3

Employment and Income

Unemployment: A poor community houses the "first to be fired, the last to be hired." The marginal worker is more likely to have little education or skill and is probably a member of a minorty group. More than half the breadwinners in the project community are in semi-skilled, unskilled, or service occupations. Five out of 11 have a grade-school education or less. Nine percent are Negroes; 28 percent are Puerto Ricans. Most of the whites (60 percent) are either immigrants or the offspring of immigrants. A community of this kind is likely to be especially vulnerable economically.

To ascertain the employment status of the respondents and their spouses, we asked survey respondents if they and their spouses usually work full time, work part time, keep house, go to school, or do something else. Of those respondents who usually work full time or part time, one out of eight reported that he was not employed at the time of the survey. Two-thirds of the respondents who usually work full time or part time held their jobs continuously in 1960, but 12 percent were unemployed for a period lasting from four months to the entire year. It should also be noted that our figure does not include an additional nine percent of the respondents who were retired, permanently out of work, or too sick to work.

From these few data we see that unemployment is a not uncommon experience in the Mobilization area. The data concerning the respondents' spouses reflect a similar pattern. One out of 10 of those who usually work were out of work at the time of the survey. During 1960, 73 percent of the respondents' working spouses were employed throughout the year, but almost half of those who suffered unemployment were out of a job for four to 12 months.

Income: The estimated median family income (as reported in the Mobilization adult survey) is $68.92 a week. Based on this figure, the annual rate should be $3,584. However, the actual median annual family income is somewhat lower, owing to loss of income in periods of unemployment or illness. The degree of perceived deprivation among Lower East Side families is suggested by the median family income per week which they consider necessary for comfort and happiness — $97.92.

Financial dependency: Financial independence in a lower-class neighborhood is as often a dream as it is a reality. Reflecting their marginal role in our economy, many slum dwellers depend upon funds from sources other than their wages and savings. In the adult survey, we asked respondents if they or anyone else in their household received income from governmental sources. Four out of 10 households reported receiving some financial assistance from the government during the past year. The distribution of such support by type of aid is shown in Table 11.

Table 11. Households Receiving Aid

Type of Aid Received	Percentage of Total Households (988)
Unemployment Compensation	17
Old Age Social Insurance	16
(Old-age assistance	3
Welfare - (Aid to dependent children	4
(General-welfare assistance	7
Total percentage of households receiving aid	41.2*

* This figure is less than the percentages reported above because some households receive more than one type of aid.

Resources of the Mobilization Area

For the purposes of Mobilization for Youth, the social resources of the project area which have special relevance for the development of children and youth may be classified as services and facilities offered by (1) public schools; (2) settlement houses and other public and private social and recreational agencies; (3) churches; and (4) adult voluntary organizations.

Resources of the Public Schools

Sixteen elementary schools and five junior high schools are located in and draw at least part of their pupil populations from the Mobilization area. The elementary schools have a total enrollment of 15,706 pupils, of whom an estimated 12,500 reside in the Mobilization area. The five junior high schools have a total enrollment of 7,555 pupils, of whom an estimated 3,800 reside in the Mobilization area. In addition, there are two public high schools. One is a vocational high school which is located within the area but serves pupils from all over the city. The other, the district academic high school, is located just outside the Mobilization boundaries and draws its 2,800 pupils from the whole southeast portion of Manhattan.

In addition to the regular classes taught by the regular teaching staff, all of the public schools offer a number of special classes and the services of staff members having certain special skills and functions.

Special classes: Many of the elementary and junior high schools in underprivileged areas of the city have been designated "special service" schools. Such schools may have smaller classes and receive the services of a number of specialists. All except two schools in the Mobilization area have been so designated. The two exceptions are designated N-E schools, because of their high proportions of non-English speaking pupils. Among the classes offered in schools in low-income areas are the following:

IGC -- A class for "Intellectually Gifted Children" (those with an I. Q. rating of 115 or better).

G Class -- A class in which at least 25 percent of the pupils have an I. Q. of 115 or higher.

OP Class -- An "Opportunity and Adjustment Class" for slow learners or children with special learning problems.

CRMD Class -- A class for "Children with Retarded Mental Development".

Junior Guidance Class -- A class for pupils with emotional and behavior problems of such degree that question of their placement in a residental institution needs to be studied.

Orientation Class -- A class for children who are recent arrivals from other countries.

N-E Class -- A class which contains 30 percent or more non-English-speaking children, with a registration of no more than 32 children.

Health-Conservation Class -- A class for children with health problems, particularly malnutrition.

The potentially available special classes are thus quite varied in type. A survey of the 21 elementary and junior high schools in the Mobilization area conducted during November 1961 found the following special classes:

405 N-E classes (Relatively high number is indicative of the fact that many of the Puerto Rican pupils, who represent 50 percent of the Mobilization area's public-school population, are fairly recent arrivals.)

17 CRMD classes.

8 Health-Conservation classes, including 3 sight-conservation classes.

12 IGC classes.

4 Junior Guidance classes.

2 OP classes.

Certain special programs are also offered in some special-service schools. All Day Neighborhood Schools are public elementary schools located in areas of the city where social and economic conditions make it desirable to extend the school day to 5:00 p.m. The one All Day Neighborhood School in the Mobilization for Youth area has been assigned a supplementary staff of six teachers and one teacher administrator who serve as group workers in the late afternoon and assist the regular classroom teachers earlier in the day. Although attendance after 3:00 p.m. is voluntary, the children who participate are selected on the basis of their need for supervision with preference given to those whose parents both work and to mildly disturbed children who should not be on the streets. Special efforts have been made to organize independent citizens' committees and parents' associations to support these programs.

One of the schools in the Mobilization area has an Early Identification and Prevention Program. This intensive guidance program is oriented toward identification of and preventive treatment for children with emotional disturbances.

Specialized staff: Like the potential range of special classes, the range in types of specialized staff is wide. It includes guidance counselors, attendance teachers (i.e., truant officers), substitute auxiliary teachers (Spanish-speaking teachers who assist regular teachers in the teaching of English), coordinators of non-English classes, teacher-training coordinators, student teachers, social workers, and psychologists. The survey of the 21 public schools established that the number of specialists was small.

Two full-time guidance counselors were available for each of the five junior high schools. However, only nine of the 16 elementary schools had professional guidance services immediately available, and of these only five schools had the full-time services of their counselors.

All five of the junior high schools but only nine of the elementary schools had full-time non-English coordinators. Three other elementary schools had the services of a N-E coordinator two days a week. However, substitute auxiliary teachers were to be found only in elementary schools — nine full time and one part time. Three elementary schools shared the services of a district teacher-training coordinator, and two other elementary schools had the part-time services of a psychologist.

Community attitudes toward public schools: The great emphasis placed on education in our society is shared by almost all members of American society. Ninety-five percent of the respondents in Mobilization's adult survey agreed with the statement, "A good education is essential to getting ahead." When asked, "How much education do you think most young men need these days to get along well in the world?" 92 percent of the respondents said, "At least a high-school education." Furthermore, only one third of the Lower East Side residents felt that they had obtained as much education as they wanted.

Parental hopes and aspirations for their children's futures are closely related to education. We asked parents to describe what they regarded as a good life for their offspring. For boys and girls alike, six out of 10 parents couched part of their response in terms of a good education. A similar proportion of respondents (64 percent) felt that there was nothing to prevent a youngster from a family like theirs from getting as much education as he or she needed. But, as would expected in a poor community, lack of money was frequently mentioned as a factor precluding a child's sufficient education.

The adequacy of public-school education as perceived by residents of the project community is noted in Table 12.

Table 12. Evaluation of Public Schools by Mobilization Area Residents (N=988)

	Number	Percent
Excellent	67	7
Good	264	27
Fair	226	23
Poor	102	10
Very Poor	58	6
Don't know	265	27
No answer	6	--

One available route for parents who are interested in improving their children's schools is to participate in the Parents' Association, if one exists and if parents are aware of its existence. We asked respondents living in households with school-age children if the children's schools had PAs. We later verified whether or not each school had a PA. We found that 80 percent of the respondents were correctly aware of the existence of a PA in the schools attended by the household's youngster.[10] This awareness varied with the children's ages: 84 percent of the respondents in households with elementary-school children were correctly aware of the PA's existence, as compared with 70 percent of those in households with high-school children. For our respondents a PA is quite important. A majority (52 percent) felt that the PA should have more power in the school's operations than it now has.

Resources of Public and Private Social and Recreational Agencies

The Lower East Side possesses a complex of public and private social and recreational agencies which is probably second to none in the city. It would take many pages to describe fully the services and facilities of these agencies. Here we can only briefly refer to a few of the wide gamut of offerings by settlement houses, the Board of Education, the Youth Board, the City Department of Parks, the City Housing Authority, and the Lower East Side Neighborhood Association. There are, of course, a host of other public and private agencies which contribute to social amelioration or recreation on the Lower East Side.

Settlements and other voluntary agencies: In 1958 it was estimated that the private social and recreational agencies of the Mobilization area had a combined yearly budget of over $2,000,000. By far the greatest proportion of this money went into youth-serving programs. Of this total, 80 percent represented the budgets of the five major settlement houses located in the project area: Educational Alliance, Grand Street Settlement, Hamilton-Madison House, Henry Street Settlement, and Lillian Wald Recreation Rooms and Settlement.

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[10] Note that the respondent was not necessarily the parent of these school-aged youngsters; he (or she) might be a relative or boarder living in the household. Consequently, the amount of parental activity is probably understated in these data.

Located within and just outside the Mobilization area are several other social agencies offering services to residents of the project. Among them are University Settlement, Christodora House, Children's Aid Society, Emanu-El Stuyvesant Community Center, Boys' Brotherhood Republic, Boys' Club of New York, and Bonitas Youth Service.

These voluntary agencies offer Lower East Side residents a wide scope of social-work, recreational, and education services. The larger settlements conduct nursery schools or day-care centers, day centers for the aging, after-school and evening recreational programs, and arts and crafts programs for all ages. All of them have social, club, and game rooms; gymnasiums; and special facilities for arts and crafts, such as pottery kilns, wood and metal-working shops, and photographic shops. Five of the settlements have taken on the responsibility for running programs in the community facilities of low-income public-housing projects. At least two agencies have school-community reading centers for elementary-school children, operated in conjunction with the Board of Education. Nearly all of the settlements have a country camp or a summer play school.

A study conducted in the spring of 1960 reported that there are 24 agencies in Manhattan which offer some form of mental-health service to Lower East Side residents.[11] Among these a wide range of methods are represented, including psychoanalysis, analytic psychotherapy, family casework, group therapy, drug and shock treatment, detoxification, and group education of narcotics addicts. On the whole, fees are minimal, often based on a sliding scale beginning with nothing or a very small sum. However, 18 of these 24 agencies are not located on the Lower East Side, and 16 of them have waiting lists for treatment. These factors discourage the use of mental-health facilities by the most deprived, disturbed persons, who tend to need help quickly and close by.

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[11] Mental Health Committee, Hamilton Fish Youth Area Team (L.E.N.A.), Agencies Offering Mental-Health Services, Mimeographed, New York: Lower East Side Neighborhoods Association, May 6, 1961.

In the Mobilization area, there are five agencies offering mental-health services, two of them attached to the Henry Street and University Settlements. All are free or low cost, and each has at least one Spanish-speaking worker. Lower East Side agencies are atypical in providing some treatment in Spanish, for many of the resources surveyed either limit their use of Spanish to intake or fail to offer it. The LENA Youth Services Committee, which conducted the survey, acknowledged the paucity of services for Puerto Rican clients, local efforts notwithstanding. Recognizing that Puerto Ricans "now constitute a large percentage of psychiatric referrals," they recommended the establishment of "one or more conveniently located agencies prepared to deal adequately with Spanish-speaking clients."[12]

The many private agencies on the Lower East Side differ widely in size, types of client, and range of program. Perhaps this variation can best be illustrated by briefly describing the services offered by one of the large settlements and by the smallest agency in the area.

The large settlement sponsors a nursery school, group-work and recreational services for several hundred children and adolescents, a special "predelinquent" project for selected 12-to 14-year-olds and their parents, a Senior Canteen for older adults, a family day camp, a resident summer camp, a mental-health clinic, and a credit union. Further, the agency staffs a home repair shop, which residents of the neighborhood may learn to repair shoes, build furniture, and the like. It also sponsors a program for "aggressive" casework in local tenements, where are characterized by a heavy concentration of disturbed multi-problem families, and conducts experiments in consumer education in a local low-rent housing project, out of which has grown a tenants' association. The agency conducts other activities in the field of social action as well. A music and drama school provide instruction as well as cultural events to the neighborhood and the larger community.

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[12] Ibid.

At the other end of the scale is an agency which was described to a radio interviewer as follows:

> At least 150 boys and young men, of all creeds and races, frequent the old tenement shop that is used as headquarters. There is a storefront, a room beyond that, a little kitchen, and not much else. In the yard behind the building is an accumulation of discarded furniture and other odds and ends. Two days a week, for those who want it, English is taught. The pupils range from six to 18 years. They come from broken homes, reformatories, sometimes no home at all. Everyone is welcome -- no questions asked. Nothing is demanded of them, and little is given them, other than food when they're hungry.... Program at this agency ranges from summer camping to informal job placement. A court has awarded custody of several delinquents to agency staff.[13]

Community attitudes toward settlements: In the Mobilization adult survey, respondents were asked to name the settlement houses and community centers with which they were familiar, if any. Sixty-one per cent of the population named at least one such agency. The interviewer then showed the respondent a card which listed the various settlement houses in the area. Four out of five then recognized the name of one or more institutions listed.

A further test of the relationship between the community and settlement houses is made by taking into account the number of households affiliated with these institutions. In 183 households (18.5 per cent of the sample), one or more persons were reported to be using the services of these agencies. Indeed, 38 per cent of the respondents reported that they or someone in their households had used a settlement house's facilities at one time or another. Of those who are currently using these agencies' facilities, an overwhelming majority -- 90 per cent -- stated that they felt the settlement houses were doing a good or an excellent job.

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[13] Jack Walters, "The New York Story" WCBS Radio, May 6, 1961.

The Board of Education: Ten of the 21 schools in the project area offer afternoon recreation programs to their pupils. In addition, the Board of Education sponsors evening community-center programs for youth in the Mobilization area in five of these schools and four other local schools. Two of these schools are also open on weekends. The Board of Education also makes its numerous auditoriums available to responsible adult organizations upon request.

The Youth Board: The New York City Youth Board maintains a unit of its Council of Social and Athletic Clubs in the project area. This Council provides the services of street-club workers to the most difficult fighting gangs in the area.

The Housing Authority: The six low-income public-housing projects on the Lower East Side offer a variety of social services to their residents and to the surrounding community. Each has a community center sponsored by a voluntary social agency or settlement house. Group workers and community organizers in the Community Activities Unit are assigned to the community center to work with staff supplied by the sponsoring agencies. In four housing projects there are day-care centers for pre-school children under joint private and public (Department of Welfare) auspices, and one of these has a Child Health Station, sponsored by the Department of Health. The Department of Welfare has one Day Center for older adults in a Lower East Side project.

In addition to services provided by outside agencies, there are experimental programs in two projects. One is a student casework unit, consisting of a supervisor and five students, who work with problem families. The second is a team of three social workers responsible for tenant education and "aggressive" family casework.

Diagnostic and referral services for especially troublesome and troubled families are available from the Authority's Social Consultation Unit.

City Department of Parks: The physical facilities for sports and outdoor recreation provided by the Parks Department are adequate in size although somewhat deficient in leadership. The Mobilization area's principal playing fields in East River Park, which flanks the whole Mobilization area on the east, are not well located for younger children, but they are good for teen-agers. The Parks Department also maintains four gymnasiums and three swimming pools, one of which is out of doors. East River Park is the main outdoor recreational resource. Its facilities include an amphitheatre for concerts, tennis courts, and several playing fields. Also located in the project area are two smaller parks -- Hamilton Fish Park and Corlears Hook Park -- and about twenty local playgrounds. Seward Park, with its athletic field, touches on the area.

The Lower Eastside Neighborhoods Association: In 1955 Henry Street acquired a sinister renown. So ferocious were the gang fights occurring there almost daily that among the children and adolescents of the community Henry Street came to be known as "Blood Alley." After one particularly vicious rumble, in which several boys were injured, the Director of the Henry Street Settlement, the priest at St. Augustine's Chapel (also located on Henry Street), and a leading lawyer active in community affairs decided that it was high time for the adults manning the local youth-serving agencies to act in concert. They found that their sense of urgency and concern with the problem of gang delinquency were shared by other agency heads and civic-minded residents. Thus, after many meetings and planning sessions, the Lower Eastside Neighborhoods Association, Inc., came into being.

This association, which came to be known as LENA, today comprises more than 100 organizations on the Lower East Side, including settlement houses, churches, fraternal orders, PTA's, unions, boys clubs, community centers, religious schools, political clubs, hospitals, and banks. In addition, there are more than 900 individual members-at-large. Formed initially in response to the local epidemic of gang delinquency, LENA has now broadened its purpose — "to make the Lower East

Side a better place in which to live, work, play, do business, and raise children." To achieve this goal, LENA seeks out and presents the facts on problems and issues in the community. It coordinates the resources of the membership to map out solutions and unifies these resources to press for implementation of recommended solutions. Its general functions thus can be defined as (1) coordinating services and resources; (2) planning for the solution of problems; and (3) organizing for action and implementation.

In order to carry out these tasks, LENA has set up five divisions. The Health Division is currently studying the health needs of the elderly and determining which services will be most needed in the hospital shortly to be built in the area. The Education Division has continuing responsibility for physical and content planning for schools in the area, including developing recommendations for buildings and services. The Housing Division has continuing responsibility for housing in the area and for concomitant problems such as relocation, conservation, and redevelopment. This unit recently developed the first master plan for housing, recreation, and education conceived by a local neighborhood organization. The Youth Division has continuing responsibility for orderly planning of youth services, both public and private. This division is composed of seven Neighborhood Youth Teams which have the function, among others, of coordinating efforts to curtail gang delinquency. The Community Arts Division has continuing responsibility for the planning and sponsorship of community cultural affairs, such as the Summer Concert Series, the Annual Photographic Exhibit, and the Artists Show. In addition, LENA sponsors five Neighborhood Councils which are, in effect, "miniature LENA's," with the function in their respective neighborhoods of coordinating the efforts of local organizations and civic-minded residents.

Resources of the Local Churches

There are 92 churches and synagogues serving the spiritual needs of the community in the Mobilization for Youth area. These institutions provide religious learning through programs of religious living, worship, education, youth services, and community involvement. They include four Roman Catholic, 45 Jewish, 10 Protestant, and 33 small "storefront" religious groups, many of which cater to outside communities as well.

One third of this number are large churches and synagogues. Many of the synagogues and churches sponsor regular adult-education institutes as well as special religious schools for youngsters. There are a number of parochial all-day schools, both Catholic and Jewish, and one Episcopal day school in the Mobilization area. In addition, classes are conducted by many religious groups during Released Time, after public school, and on weekends.

Another major feature of a number of the larger churches and synagogues is the sponsorship of a variety of programs for youth from pre-schoolers through teen-agers.

A majority of the larger synagogues and churches are active members of LENA.

Resources of Adult Voluntary Organizations

A survey of voluntary organizations has established the existence of more than 200 named organizations in the Mobilization area, including social and athletic clubs, nationality associations, benevolent orders, religious societies, political clubs, labor unions, businessmen's groups, and PTAs, as well as fraternal societies, churches, social agencies, and civic associations. A third or more of these organizations are active members of LENA. Many of these have no affiliations at all and hence could be labeled "privatized" organizations, whose programs have beneficial consequences only for the members -- if, indeed, for them. However, like the ministers of the storefront churches, a substantial number of the leaders of these small, relatively obscure organizations have voiced concern about the social problems of the community and a desire to participate in community action projects. These organizations, then, may comprise a substantial untapped resource.

Organizational and interpersonal ties of residents: The extent to which Lower East Side residents have organizational or interpersonal ties within or beyond the community's boundaries is demonstrated by data from Mobilization's survey. A majority (58 percent) of adults reported that they did not belong to any formal organizations (apart from churches). However, about the same proportion of respondents (55 percent) stated that they belonged to a church or synagogue, although only four out of 10 members said that they were active in church affairs.

What can be said about residents' informal ties to each other? We asked, "Is there any group of people you get together with from time to time just to talk, play cards, go bowling, or something else like that?" Fifty-four percent of our respondents replied "No." Slightly less than a third of the sample said that they get together with such a group at least once a week. Indeed, one out of every six said that they never even stop to talk to their neighbors. From the few data presented above, we conclude that many Lower East Siders display a consistent lack of organizational affiliations and informal relationships with their neighbors.

Chapter II

GUIDELINES TO ACTION

What we do about a persisting social problem, such as juvenile delinquency, depends in large part on our assumptions about the forces that produce it. Every program of action is based on certain assumptions, explicit or implicit, about why the problem we are seeking to solve exists in the first place. In this chapter, we shall set forth some ideas which we believe are helpful in accounting for the origins of much of the juvenile delinquency which is found in the lower socio-economic sectors of our urban society. These assumptions, in turn, will yield a series of "guidelines to action" which are the basis for the large-scale demonstration program discussed in the next chapter.

At the outset, it should be understood that little is known empirically about the origins of juvenile delinquency, although there are a number of sophisticated theoretical points of view about the problem. Each of these points of view suggests a way of approaching the task of reducing delinquency. The theory of culture conflict, for example, states that delinquent groups arise either as a way of managing the personality conflict resulting when persons simultaneously internalize two divergent cultural codes,[1] or as a consequence of internalizing a cultural code which so deviates from the prevailing middle-class code that conformity with it is officially defined as delinquent.[2] If this theory is correct, it follows that a program should be designed to ameliorate the tensions arising from the assimilation of cultural groups with codes differing from the prevailing one. Another theory states that delinquent gangs develop in response to tensions created in the transition from adolescence to adulthood. Our society, according to this theory, encourages the young to want to achieve adult status but places obstacles in the way of their achieving this goal. The gang arises, then, to perform the functions served by rites de passage in more ordered societies.[3] This theory suggests that a program ought to focus upon the problems of creating better integration between adolescent and adult roles and easing the transition from adolescence to adulthood. Still another theory suggests that boys in our society form delinquent gangs as a way of developing and expressing masculine identification. Barriers to masculine identification are said to be particularly formidable for young people in female-centered households, such as prevail in various sectors of the lower class.[5] The delinquent gang, which is said to result from a process of "reaction formation," represents a protest by adolescent males against the femininity of these households, and serves as a structure within which masculine modes of behavior can be tested and adopted.[4] This theory has a variety of action implications. It suggests that we must help to ameliorate the conditions which lead to the female-centered household; it suggests, further, that we might want to be concerned with the sex distribution of school faculties, the relative masculinity of curricular content, and other features of the school that might result in a definition of education as feminine.

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[1] See Louis Wirth. "Culture Conflict and Misconduct," Social Forces, Vol. 9 (June 1931), pp. 484-92.

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[2] See Thorsten Sellin, Culture Conflict and Crime, New York: Social Science Research Council, 1938, p. 68. A contemporary refinement of this view of juvenile delinquency is found in the work of Walter B. Miller. See, for example, his "Lower Class Culture as a Generating Milieu of Gang Delinquency," Journal of Social Issues, Vol 14, No. 3 (1958), pp. 9 ff.

[3] See especially Herbert Bloch and Arthur Neiderhoffer, The Gang: A Study in Adolescent Behavior, New York: Philosophical Library, 1958.

[4] See Talcott Parsons, Essays in Sociological Theory, Rev. Ed., Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1954, pp. 304-5; Miller, op. cit.; and Albert K. Cohen, Delinquent Boys: The Culture of the Gang, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1955, p. 162.

Expanding Opportunities for Conformity

We believe that each of these theories has merit, and the specific programs discussed in subsequent chapters have been designed in part to conform to them. However, our over-all proposal stems primarily from a somewhat different theory, based on certain assumptions about delinquent behavior.[6] Foremost among these is the conviction that delinquency is not simply an asocial or a "primitive" reaction. People sometimes "explain" the law-violating patterns of juvenile delinquents by suggesting that these youngsters have been inadequately socialized, poorly trained at home or school. The delinquent, they say, has simply not learned the "rights" and "wrongs" of conduct in a civilized society. We do not subscribe to explanations of this kind, for we do not view the delinquent as untouched or unreached by the society of which he is a part. It has been our experience that most persons who participate in

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5. The term "lower class" is meant to designate a broad socioeconomic grouping consisting of manual laborers, including the skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled. Within this broad socioeconomic category, various subgroupings -- defined by the stability and type of employment and ethnicity and nationality -- may be found, some of which will be identified in a later section of this chapter.
6. The foundation for the approach to be discussed here may be found in Richard A. Cloward and Lloyd E. Ohlin, Delinquency and Opportunity: A Theory of Delinquent Gangs, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1960.

delinquent patterns are fully aware of the differences between right and wrong, between conventional behavior and rule-violating behavior. They may not care about the differences, or they may enjoy flouting the rules of the game, or they may have decided that illegitimate practices get them what they want more efficiently than legitimate practices. But to say this is not the same as to say that they do not understand the rules.

Secondly, we believe that delinquency and conformity generally result from the same social conditions. Efforts to conform, to live up to social expectations, often result in profound strain and frustration because the opportunities for conformity[7] are not always available. This frustration may lead in turn to behavior which violates social rules. In this way delinquency and conformity can arise from the same features of social life: unsuccessful attempts to be what one is supposed to be may lead to aberrant behavior, since the very act of reaching out for socially approved goals under conditions that preclude their legitimate achievement engenders strain.

Finally, we believe that delinquency ordinarily represents a search for solutions to problems of adjustment. In the sense that delinquency is an effort to resolve difficulties resulting from attempts to conform, it is not purposeless, although it may be random and disorganized and may not result in a successful solution. (In fact, delinquent "solutions" may even bring on additional and more serious problems of adjustment.)

In summary, it is our belief that much delinquent behavior is engendered because opportunities for conformity are limited. Delinquency therefore represents not a lack of motivation to conform but quite the opposite: the desire to meet social expectations itself becomes the source of delinquent behavior if the possibility of doing so is limited or nonexistent.

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[7] We do not intend by this term to designate a state of overconformity to conventional norms. By conformity, we mean any behavior which is not proscribed, including prescribed, preferred, or permitted behavior.

The importance of these assumptions in framing the large-scale program which is proposed here cannot be overemphasized. The essence of our approach to prevention, rehabilitation, and social control in the field of juvenile delinquency may be stated as follows: in order to reduce the incidence of delinquent behavior or to rehabilitate persons who are already enmeshed in delinquent patterns, we must provide the social and psychological resources that make conformity possible. Rehabilitation, for example, cannot be achieved simply by encouraging an offender to want to conform. The motivation to conform is a prerequisite to conformity, but it is hardly enough to ensure that conforming behavior will result. If the possibilities for a conventional adjustment are restricted or absent, the likelihood is that the offender, no matter how favorably motivated, will continue to engage in nonconforming behavior. Thus we must concern ourselves with expanding opportunities for conventional behavior. Our program is designed to enlarge opportunities for conformity and so to combat a major source of delinquent behavior among young people. It might be helpful if we paused to illustrate these assumptions through some concrete references to delinquent behavior.

The Delinquent Boy

On the basis of available evidence, delinquent behavior appears to be highest in the economically depressed sectors of urban areas. Delinquent patterns can, of course, be found in all parts of American society, but the general view that such behavior is most prevalent in slum areas has not been effectively refuted. What, then, are the special pressures impinging upon youth in city slums to which deviant patterns are a logical outcome?

It is our view that the single most important pressure toward delinquent behavior in this group arises from discrepancies between their social and economic aspirations[8] and their opportunities to achieve these aspirations by legitimate means.[9] The aspirations are the result of socialization in a society that places great emphasis on economic and occupational achievement and whose ideology stresses the possibility of achievement by all its members, irrespective of their ethnic or socioeconomic backgrounds. Members of low socioeconomic or minority groups, however, are subjected to discriminatory practices which have the effect of restricting access to the usual means (e.g., education) of rising in the social and occupational scale. Slum youth, therefore, share the aspirations of youth located elsewhere in American society but, for reasons largely beyond their control, are much less likely to achieve these goals.

The emphasis on upward mobility for all members is a unique characteristic of industrial societies. Something in the organization of life in such societies must therefore require that the members make a virtue of dissatisfaction, of discontent with their present positions. If we can identify this "something," we shall be on our way to understanding an important feature of American life, and, furthermore, we shall have taken an important step toward an explanation of lower-class delinquency, for one of the distinctive features of those who participate in delinquent gangs is their acute dissatisfaction with the prospects life holds for them.

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[8] A discussion of the level and content of lower-class aspirations may be found in Cloward and Ohlin, op. cit., Ch. IV.

[9] A specification of barriers in access to success-goals may be found in ibid., and in Ch. III of this proposal.

All societies, industrial or not, must solve the problem of perpetuating themselves or else disintegrate. In many societies it is enough that the young work alongside their parents, acquiring through these intimate associations the values and skills that will enable them to engage successfully in adult occupational and family activities. The occupational systems in such societies are relatively simple and undifferentiated; most of the major work roles can be passed directly from father to son. The transmittal of occupational skills is a more difficult problem in our society, with its vastly proliferated structure of extremely technical work roles. We cannot depend upon the vagaries of birth to determine who will occupy each role, for we cannot assume that the son of a physicist will be a competent successor to his father. Nor can we require the father to transmit highly specialized knowledge to his son in the context of the family, for this would divert the father's energies from the primary work role that he is supposed to perform. The family, in other words, is not a satisfactory environment for the learning of specialized occupational skills. The industrial society must organize itself in such a way that it can allocate people to roles more or less on the basis of merit and endowment rather than on the basis of social origins, and it must provide -- outside the family -- the formal learning experiences that are prerequisite to occupational performance.

A crucial problem in the industrial world, then, is to locate and train the most talented persons in every generation, irrespective of the vicissitudes of birth, to occupy technical work roles. Whether he is born into wealth or poverty, each individual, depending upon his ability and diligence, must be encouraged to find his "natural level" in the social order. This problem is one of tremendous proportions. Since we cannot know in advance who can best fulfill the requirements of various occupational roles, the matter is presumably settled through the process of competition. But how can men throughout the social order be motivated to participate in this competition? How can society generate the ambition and persistence that are necessary if the individual is to make his way in the occupational world? How can we persuade the young to invest their resources, time, and energies in acquiring specialized knowledge and complex skills? It is not enough for a few to make the race; all must be motivated to strive, so that the most able and talented will be the victors in the competitive struggle for high status.

One of the ways in which the industrial society attempts to solve this problem is by defining success-goals as potentially accessible to all, regardless of race, creed, or socioeconomic position. Great social rewards, it is said, are not limited to any particular segment or segments of the population but are available to everyone, however lowly his origins. The status of a young man's father presumably does not put an upper limit on the height to which the son may aspire; in fact, he is exhorted to improve his status over that of his father. The industrial society, in short, emphasizes common or universal success-goals as a way of ensuring its survival. If large masses of young people can be motivated to reach out for great social rewards, many of them will make the appropriate investment in learning and preparation, and a rough correlation between talent and ultimate position in the occupational hierarchy will presumably result.

One of the paradoxes of social life, however, is that the processes by which societies seek to ensure order sometimes result in disorder. If a cultural emphasis on unlimited success-goals tends to solve problems in the industrial society, it also creates new ones. A pervasive feeling of position discontent leads people to compete for higher status and so contributes to the survival of the industrial order, but it also produces acute pressure for delinquent behavior if large sectors of the population are denied equal opportunity to achieve high status.

If traditional channels to higher position, such as education,[10] are restricted for large categories of people, then pressures will mount for the use of alternative routes.[11] Thus some lower-class persons orient themselves toward occupations in the fields of entertainment and sports. People of modest social origins who have been conspicuously successful in these spheres often become salient models for the young in depressed sectors of the society. The heavyweight champion, the night-club singer, the baseball star -- these symbolize the possibility of achieving success in conventional terms despite poor education and low social origins. The businessman, the physicist, and the physician, on the other hand, occupy roles to which the lower-class youngster has little access because of his limited educational opportunities. By orienting himself toward occupations which offer some hope of success in spite of poor social origins and education, the lower-class boy follows a legitimate alternative to traditional avenues to success-goals.

But the dilemma of many lower-class young people is that these alternative avenues to success-goals are often just as restricted as educational channels, if not more so. Of the many lower-class adolescents who go into the "fight game," hoping to win great social rewards -- money and glamor -- by sheer physical exertion and stamina, a few succeed, but the overhwhelming majority are destined to fail. For these lower-class youth there seems no legitimate way out of poverty. Thus they experience desperation born of the certainty that their position in the economic structure is relatively fixed and immutable -- desperation made all the more poignant by their exposure to a cultural ideology in which failure to orient oneself upward is regarded as a moral defect and failure to become mobile as proof of it. In a society that did not encourage them to set their sights high, they might more easily adjust to their impoverished circumstances; but since social worth is so closely identified with social position in American society, discontent and frustration pervade the lower reaches of the social order.

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[10] For discussions of inequalities in education see: W. Lloyd Warner, Robert J. Havighurst, and Martin B. Loeb, *Who Shall Be Educated -- The Challenge of Unequal Opportunities*, New York: Harper & Bros., 1944; Elbridge Sibley, "Some Demographic Clues to Stratification," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 7 (June 1942), pp. 322-30; George F. Zuok, "The Findings and Recommendations of the President's Commission on Higher Education," *Bulletin of the American Association of University Professors*, Vol. 35 (Spring 1949), pp. 17-22; R. A. Mulligan, "Socioeconomic Background and College Enrollment," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 16, No. 2 (April 1951), pp. 188-96; August B. Hollingshead, *Elmtown's Youth*, New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1949.

[11] This point has been developed by Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure*, Rev. and Enl. Ed., Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1957, Ch. IV.

Unable to fulfill their aspirations through legitimate means, many lower-class youth adopt other means, beyond accepted mores, which might offer a possible route to success-goals. Some join delinquent gangs, which, we believe, represent specialized modes of adaptation to this problem of adjustment. There appear to be three major types of delinquent gang typically encountered among adolescent boys in slum areas. One is based principally upon criminal values; its members are organized primarily for the pursuit of material gain by such illegal means as extortion, fraud, and theft. In the second, violence is the keynote; its members pursue prestige ("rep") through the manipulation of force or threat of force. These are the "warrior" groups that fight in the streets and attract so much attention in the press. Finally there are subcultures which emphasize the consumption of drugs. The participants in these gangs have withdrawn from the competitive struggle and have abandoned conventional family and occupational roles; their energies are focused only on the "kick." We call these three subcultural forms "criminal," "conflict," and "retreatist," respectively. We shall discuss them in greater detail later in this chapter.

The Delinquent Girl

In discussions of juvenile delinquency, female dlinquency is often overlooked. Male delinquency poses a greater threat to public safety and therefore commands greater attention from the public, the press, and persons directly concerned with youth problems. Female delinquency generally takes a sexual form, and since illegitimacy is a frequent outcome, there is reason to be concerned with this problem.

In urban areas, the rates of illegitimacy are highest among lower-class girls; within the lower class, they are highest among depressed minority groups, such as Negroes. This rough correlation between economic status and illegitimacy is not coincidental. Indeed, much of what we have said about the pressures leading to delinquency among lower-class males applies as well to females: a great deal of delinquency occurs simply because the opportunities for conforming behavior are lacking. The most of illegitimacy among lower-class girls represents a response to restriction in opportunities to form stable, monogamous kinship units. The problem of many girls in the lower class is not that they are likely to become unwed mothers but, rather, that the possibilities for becoming wed mothers -- that is, becoming part of a stable, monogamous family system -- are extremely limited. Unless conditions which encourage and support such a family system are mobilized, it seems extremely unlikely that rates of illegitimacy can be appreciably reduced.

Generally speaking, marriage is the principal rite de passage by which girls pass from adolescence to adulthood, as movement into the occupational realm is the principal avenue to adult status for boys. We have noted the barriers to occupational opportunity confronting many males in the lower class: a substantial proportion cannot find gainful employment and, even if they do, it is likely to be seasonal or otherwise unsteady. The problem of the girls arises in large part from this plight of the boys, for males who are unable to find work cannot discharge the fundamental role upon which a stable family is based: namely, the ability to support a potential wife and children.

In view of this situation, the plight of the Negro female in growing up and securing adult prerogatives is especially acute. Marriage is less likely for her than for girls elsewhere in society, for she cannot depend upon the male to form a stable union or to become a source of economic support.

Pregnancy is, of course, likely to alter her situation. A new status, however reluctantly conferred by older females in the family, is virtually inevitable once the girl achieves motherhood. Among other reasons, the unwed mother may be eligible for some type of public assistance and thus may become economically independent of her family. In this and other ways, unwed motherhood is a channel to adulthood.

It should be noted that little of this process is conscious. Social pressures, like psychological pressures, are rarely understood for what they are. Lower-class girls do not necessarily perceive the sources of their status dilemma, nor do they necessarily seek deliberately to become pregnant in order to force others to define them as adult. But it is nevertheless true that such persons do have an acute status problem, and that illegitimacy is an available, if unconsciously chosen, solution.

Thus, according to our view, the lower-class female-centered family develops largely in response to the male's restricted economic chances. The limited ability of males to form stable unions in which they can carry out the roles of provider and protector generates acute pressure toward the segregation of sexual and child-rearing activities. Once the separation of these activities has been achieved, unwed motherhood on a large scale is a logical consequence.

Segregation of sexual and child-rearing activities can occur even in groups which have a stable monogamous family system if males are suddenly faced with severe economic limitations. This has happened among some immigrant groups which historically have had a strong monogamous family tradition. Once located in urban America, they have tended to develop a female-centered family. The tendency for the male's ties to the family to weaken stems primarily from a reversal in the employability of males and females. Immigrant males have often found it more difficult to secure employment than have immigrant females. In New York City, for example, the garment industries and domestic services have been ready, if low-paying, sources of employment for females. Many males, on the other hand, have been forced to remain sporadically, if not permanently, unemployed. The reversal of family roles lowers the male's prestige and may eventually result in desertion. Over a long period, the segregation of sexual and child-rearing activities may become complete, with the result that a female-centered family becomes widespread.

The conclusion to be drawn from this brief analysis is simply this: if we are to reduce rates of illegitimacy among lower-class girls, we must provide opportunities for conformity. This means that we must make marriage a more available alternative than it now is by improving the economic position of males so that they can become stable husbands and fathers. To the extent that we succeed in improving the economic position of males, we shall also reduce pressures toward delinquency among them as well. We need, in short, to be concerned with the expansion of opportunities for conformity. This, then, is our first general guideline to action in the field of juvenile delinquency.

Increasing the Capacity to Utilize Opportunity

As we have pointed out, we need to expand objective opportunities for conformity, especially in the spheres of education and employment, in order to reduce pressures toward deviant behavior among adolescents in the lower socioeconomic sectors of society. It does not necessarily follow, however, that opportunities will be exploited simply because they suddenly become more available. Sometimes persons who have been subjected to extreme deprivations for long periods of time lose the capacity to make use of opportunities when they are afforded. The operation of self-defeating modes of adaptation can be detected in almost every aspect of juvenile delinquency. Let us turn, then to a discussion of the sources of such behavior

The Acquisition of Skills and Future Rewards

The problem of self-defeating adaptations is nowhere more striking than in the failure of many low-income youth to develop academic skills. Educational deficiencies are especially pronounced among delinquents. One of the major sources of school failure among low-income youth is, we believe, their belief that there is little relationship between academic achievement and future occupational rewards.

Educational attainment does not necessarily enable the lower-class person to overcome the disadvantages of his low social origins.

> Thus workers' sons with "some college" education are about as well off /financially/ as a group as the sons of non-manual fathers who have graduated from high school but not attended college. Similarly, high school graduation for the sons of workers results in their being only slightly better off than the sons of nonmanual workers who have not completed high school.[12]

To the extend that one's social origins, despite education, still constitute a restraining influence on upward movement, we may assume that other objective consequences of social position intervene, such as the ability of one's family to give one a start in a business or profession by supplying funds or influential contacts.

The influence of social class as a deterrent to social mobility, despite the possession of education, becomes all the more important when coupled with influences stemming from race and national origin. It hardly needs to be said that race frequently acts as a major barrier to occupational mobility no matter what the educational achievement of the person involved. This situation is easing, to be sure, as progress in fair-employment practices for all racial groups is slowly achieved. Nevertheless, it would be grossly inaccurate to say that a Negro youth in our society has the same chance as a white youth to become upwardly mobile, given an equivalent level of education. It is not in the least uncommon to find young Negroes with college training forced to take employment in semi-skilled and lower white-collar positions. Among the professions, only teaching and social work have been readily available to them.

The point is, of course, that the major inducement to educational achievement in our society is the promise of future occupational rewards.

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[12] S. M. Lipset and Reinhard Bendix, Social Mobility in Industrial Society, Berkeley and Los Angeles, Calif: University of California Press, 1959, p. 99.

If, however, it is known in advance that these rewards will be largely withheld from certain socioeconomic and racial groups, it is unlikely that high levels of educational achievement can be sustained in such groups. Thus the young may devalue academic performance because they see no relationship between it and the realities of their future.

What we have been saying about the relationship between educational performance and occupational rewards assumes, of course, that the disjunction between the two tends to be perceived by low-income and minority groups in our society. Generally speaking, the evidence available suggests that perceptions of opportunity do accord with reality. In this connection, Hyman has summarized data which show that there are distinct differentials by socioeconomic status in judgments regarding the accessibility of occupational rewards. Thus 63 percent of one sample of persons in professional and managerial positions felt that the "years ahead held good chances for advancement" while only 48 percent of a sample of factory workers gave this response. Furthermore, the factory workers were more likely to think that "getting along well with the boss" or being a "friend or relative of the boss" were important determinants of mobility; professional and executive personnel were more likely to stress "quality of work" and "energy and willingness."[13] Such findings suggest that low-income persons do indeed perceive the impact of social origins upon their life chances. If these are the perceptions of occupational mobility held by lower-class parents, it is hardly likely that very many of the children in such families would

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13. Herbert H. Hyman, "The Value System of Different Classes," in Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Lipset, Class, Status and Power, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1953, pp. 426 ff.

espouse contrary views.[14] Under such circumstances, education may not be regarded as a significant determinant of mobility.

It has been shown in a variety of studies that the poor often tend to place less emphasis upon the acquisition of academic skills than persons elsewhere in the socioeconomic structure. It is doubtful that they are unaware of the general importance attached to education as such in our society or of the basic relationship between education and social mobility. But when groups are subjected to barriers in access to education for long periods of time, their capacity to take advantage of educational opportunities and to develop educational skills gradually diminishes. Indeed, educational skills may sometimes come to be devalued; they may come to be defined as irrelevant precisely because they seem so remote from the circumstances of a life of poverty. Such attitudes toward educational skills and other means of facilitating upward mobility are adaptive; they are a response to the realistic availability of opportunity.

Socialization and Self-Defeating Attitudes

Various elements in the socialization of lower-class youth also help to account for self-defeating behavior. In general, these elements stem from two related sources: the character of lower-class occupations, and the content of various ethnic and nationality values found in large segments of the lower class. Here again we shall take poor academic performance as an illustration of self-defeating behavior.

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[14] The young acquire definitions of the availability of success goals from older persons with whom they interact. For our purposes, "actual" and "anticipated" failure to improve one's social position are functional equivalents. This point of view is entirely consonant, for example, with experimental studies showing that young Negro children become aware of invidious color distinctions in our society even though they may not have been directly exposed to discriminatory racial practices.

At the outset, it is necessary to note that the lower class is not all of a piece -- that there are distinctive subgroupings within it. From the standpoint of economic stability, it is possible to conceive of the lower class as composed of two broad groups. The first consists of those who are employed more or less regularly (except for severe recessions, strikes, and the like). Persons in this category, who may be called the "stable working class," engage in manual occupations of a semiskilled or skilled character. The second broad group consists of those who are irregularly employed -- the transient, casual, intermittent, seasonal, and occasional workers who engage in essentially unskilled occupations.

One of the major differences between these two groups is in family structure. The stable working class is generally characterized by a solidary, patriarchal, sometimes extended kinship system. By contrast, in the large group of irregularly employed persons, a female-centered household is typical, with much illegitimacy and frequently transient adult males.

The importance of this socioeconomic distinction stems from the fact that the irregularly employed group within the lower class contributes disproportionately to the population of official delinquents, academic underachievers, and school dropouts. Persons socialized in this group experience the greatest discrepancy between socially induced aspirations and socially structured life chances. They are least likely to have been exposed to familial systems which can successfully inculcate values and skills essential in achieving upward mobility. For example, boys socialized in this sector of society are not likely to have had stable father figures who held stable occupational positions, and thus opportunities for identification with appropriate occupational role models were limited if not absent. Such identification is crucial to achievement. In view of these facts, frustrations ensuing from discrepancies between aspirations and life chances are acute, and alienation from the school and other middle-class institutions is the consequence.

It would be a mistake, however, to say that socialization in some parts of the lower class presents a problem simply because it is deficient, inadequate, or incomplete. It may be that we have been insufficiently attentive to differential values in attempting to understand lower class socialization and in the structuring of programs in education and social welfare.

The effect of differential socialization on educational achievement, for example, can best be seen by examining certain ethnic and nationality values. By and large, immigrant groups historically have entered our social structure at the bottom, and thus it is in the lower class that their values have had the greatest impact. In many of the groups which came to this country, distinctive value systems were already well established and tended to persist.

Although these immigrants have acquired the more superficial aspects of the American middle-class value system fairly rapidly, they did not readily abandon the more subtle and deeply embedded values of the Old World. Indeed, there is good reason to think that many of these values continue to exert a profound influence upon behavior in the second and third generations.

The point to be made about these persisting value orientations is that they do not always facilitate success in the school. Our system of education places a strong emphasis upon doing rather than being, upon a future orientation rather than an orientation toward the present or the past, upon the notion that man is superordinate to nature rather than in harmony with it or subjugated by it, upon the notion that man is flexible and plastic and capable of change rather than essentially and perhaps immutably evil. A child who has not acquired these value orientations in his home and community is not so likely to compete successfully with youngsters who take these values for granted. In many ethnic and nationality groups, a strong emphasis upon the value of being, on the present and the past, can be detected.[15] These values are rooted in traditions many centuries old and can not be extinguished easily. Although the values may, after several generations, be greatly weakened, they nevertheless continue to exert a subtle influence in many spheres of behavior, including educational performance. Underachievement among some lower-class youngsters may therefore be attributed in part to these alternative value orientations to which the young are differentially socialized. In this sense, then, underachievement arises in part from ethnic and nationality values in the lower class.

The problem of value-orientations which interfere with academic performance is more acute in the irregularly employed groups than in the stable working-class culture. Both groups exhibit a variety of values in common: an emphasis on security rather than risk, on expression rather than instrumental orientations (including a strong orientation toward people rather than toward tasks or functions), on traditionalism, pragmatism, and anti-intellectualism. It is important to note, however, that these emphases are stronger among the irregularly employed class than among the stable working class. Indeed, it would be accurate to say that the stable working class stands more or less midway between the transient labor subculture and the middle class in these reports.[16]

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[15] For a description of relevant values, see Florence R. Kluckholm, "Variations in the Basic Values of Family Systems," Social Casework, Vol. 39 (February-March 1958), pp. 63-72.

As these cultural patterns emerge in response to economic life circumstances, persons who are exposed to them become all the more unable to negotiate channels of mobility. In primary and secondary schools, for example, the children of the poor find themselves at a competitive disadvantage with those from higher strata, for verbal fluency, a capacity for deferred gratification, a sustained attention span, and other attributes which facilitate academic achievement are more closely integrated with socialization in the middle-income than in the low-income strata of our society. The result is that many lower-income youngsters come to compare themselves invidiously with middle-income youngsters because the latter succeed more readily in school. Subsequently, some former adolescents may become estranged from the school and join the ranks of the dropouts. Continued exposure to the cultural patterns may even affect I.Q. scores adversely.

The Functional Autonomy of Self-Defeating Attitudes

The major problem in dealing with self-defeating adaptations is that they generally become "functionally autonomous," -- that is, once they come into existence, they tend to persist quite independent of the forces to which they were originally a response. The adaptation becomes elaborated and refined as a way of life into which people are directly socialized from birth. Hence the young become carriers of the cultural system even before they have themselves experienced some of the frustrations discussed earlier in this chapter. Instead of developing a capacity to need and enjoy long-range accomplishments, for example, they may learn to need and enjoy immediate achievements; instead of developing satisfaction from risk-taking, they learn to derive satisfaction from successfully organizing their limited resources in a way that provides maximal security; instead of stressing instrumental skills, they may stress elaborate and stylized expressive modes of behavior. Once stabilized, in other words, these patterns of living become self-maintaining, in part through the induction of the young, who learn to satisfy their needs through them. When the children of the poor eventually come to experience dissatisfaction with their lot in life as the larger society reaches them and generates status discontent, they then find that they are imperfectly socialized for competition in the middle-class world. Although they may have high aspirations, they do not have the values and skills which would permit them to compete effectively in the middle-class world. The task, then, is to institute programs which will permit the effective resocialization of such youth -- effective in the sense that these programs will enable young people to acquire traits useful in the exploitation of new opportunities.

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[16] S. M. Miller and Frank Riessman, "The Working Class Subculture: A New View," Social Problems, Vol. 9, No. 1 (Summer 1961), pp. 87-93.

The Maintenance of Self-Defeating Attitudes

Once self-defeating adaptations have come into existence and become functionally autonomous, it is pertinent to ask how such adaptations are maintained, what forces contribute to their stability and persistence. It is necessary to find the answer to this question in order to develop a strategy of intervention in self-defeating adaptations.

We consider that one of the most significant contributions to the maintenance of self-defeating behavior is invidious definitions. As an illustration, let us consider the problem of recidivism among juvenile offenders who have been committed to an institution and later return to the community. The sources of recidivism lie both in the restrictions on the offender's opportunities for conformity after his release, and in the failure of the typical returned offender to take advantage of what few opportunities are available.

The major pressure toward recidivism is the net of invidious definitions in which offenders are trapped. The way in which a person is defined is a crucial determinant of his access to legitimate opportunities, to the social resources for conformity. As the released offender moves back into the community, his family may continue to reject him because of the disgrace he has brought upon them. Since he is an officially defined delinquent, teachers may respond to him in such a way as to bring about the very behavior they have imputed to him. Employers may not wish to run the risk of hiring him for fear that he will engage in behavior that will be troublesome. Indeed, even his old gang may be somewhat reluctant to accept him back because he is "hot" -- that is, because he is an object of surveillance by the police and may therefore serve to bring the gang unnecessarily to the attention of law-enforcement officials. He may also find it difficult to win acceptance in leisure-time agencies.

The problem of the released boy is, in short, how to gain re-entry to the society which had expelled him. This is a problem common to many categories of institutionalized persons, including the physically handicapped and the mentally ill as well as the offender. In the case of the offender, the problem of re-entry begins with arrest. Once apprehended, the individual is forced to particpate in the rituals of being charged, prosecuted, sentenced, and confined. Through these "status-degradation ceremonies," his public identity is destroyed and he is assigned a new public identity -- that of delinquent or criminal. This new and invidious identity becomes a major obstacle to the offender's conformity in the community after his release from a correctional institution. Many such offenders quickly find that they cannot persuade society that they have become eligible for readmission. There are no status-restoration ceremonies to proclaim and legitimize their eligibility. Hence they are prevented from conforming, and recidivism is the consequence.

In connection with this general analysis, one experiment is worth noting. During World War II, the State of Illinois arranged to parole a number of felons to the military. The rate of recidivism among these men was much lower than among a comparable group paroled in the traditional way, to their home communities. What accounts for the difference? Men paroled to military service, if they served honorably, were permitted to earn an Honorable Discharge. Having received this symbol of honor, they could return to their home communities as patriots rather than as pariahs. Furthermore, they had little difficulty explaining to prospective employers where they had spent the last several years. Thus military service performed a kind of status-restoring function for the prisoner. Among those paroled directly to the community, no such legitimizing of status shifts occurred, no proclamation of eligibility for readmission took place. Thus the social resources for conformity were frequently withheld.

The second pressure making for recidivism is the defeatist attitude of the offender himself, which is apparent even before his release. Many young offenders have had enough life experience to estimate fairly accurately the problems they will face when they are released. In general, they hold rather low expectations of future success. These negative appraisals are buttressed and reinforced by recidivists in the institutional population, most of whom are persuaded that "you can't make it legitimately on the outside." The recidivists constitute a potent socializing force for persons who have been institutionalized for the first time. The result of these pressures is pervasive despair and hopelessness among many inmates.

In the sense that it cultivates this feeling of despair and hopelessness, institutional life can be said to perpetuate the delinquent's incapacity for conformity, for low expectations of success lead many youngsters to adapt to institutional life in ways that prevent them from utilizing what few training opportunities are afforded to them. In effect, a vicious circle is set in motion: inmates respond to objectively limited opportunities and inurdrous definitions of them by subjectively defining themselves as defeated, and thus they lose whatever motivation and skills they might once have had to make a conforming adjustment.

One of the principal manifestations of these adaptive responses is the emergence of inmate systems dominated by norms which prescribe resistance to institutional treatment efforts and repudiation of officially sanctioned rehabilitative goals. These inmate systems, like delinquent groups in the community, serve to defend the individual against a society which rejects him and an institutional system which he perceives as fraudulent in its attempt to build up his hopes for a better life in the future. Clinical efforts to induce change in the inmate, to engage him in a process of resolving internal conflicts which stand in the way of conformity, are thus frustrated by his participation in an inmate system. As time passes and the individual's connections to the inmate system widen and deepen, he becomes all the more incapacitated to make a satisfactory social adjustment upon release. In addition to losing his motivation, the boy loses through disuse whatever educational and vocational skills he may have had, and he fails to develop new ones. Thus when he returns to the community he contributes to the forces preventing his re-adjustment. The barriers confronting him are real, to be sure, but so also is his propensity to concede defeat without a fight. Expecting to fail, he declines to try. He avoids returning to school because "They've got it in for me, anyway" and does not bother to seek employment because "Who would give me a job if they knew where I been?" The circle is closed, and eventually recidivism results.

Levels and Content of Aspirations

An emphasis upon expanding opportunities and increasing capacity to make use of opportunities should be accompanied by an emphasis upon the aspirations of the lower socioeconomic strata. If, as we contend, pressures toward delinquency stem from discrepancies between aspirations and opportunity, the structure of opportunities cannot be the only target for change; we must also ensure that the levels and content of aspirations which people hold correlate roughly with their location in the opportunity structure. Discrepancies between aspirations and opportunities can arise both because of severely restricted opportunity and because of inappropriate aspirations.

Levels of Aspiration

In order to deal with levels of aspiration, it is necessary to recall that the lower class is not all of a piece -- that there are distinctive subgroups within it and that our approaches to these groups must differ.

From the standpoint of economic stability, we noted that it is possible to conceive of the lower class as composed of two broad groups, the "stable working class" and those who are irregularly employed.

The movement of groups out of the economic instability of the latter group to the middle class apparently occurs in stages, the most important of which is the formation of a stable working-class culture. To move into this intermediate stage depends upon educational opportunities to acquire some middle class values and upon economic opportunities to form a stable monogamous kinship system. Once this stage of socioeconomic development has been achieved, a base for subsequent movement into the middle class exists. From the standpoint of action, therefore, it follows that goals or aspirations for differing socioeconomic groups should vary. Work with the irregularly employed grouping within the lower class should not necessarily be aimed at opening channels for them to middle-class status. Perhaps some can make the transition, and they of course should be afforded the opportunity to do so. But in the case of the least economically stable groups, the achievement of a stable working-class culture should be the aspiration. Programs leading to middle-class status would seem realistic for those who already have been socialized in the working-class world, and they should be encouraged in such aspirations.

Content of Aspirations

The term "conformity," as we have noted, does not refer to a single mode of behavior. In a society as complex as ours, conformity may take many forms; it embraces a spectrum of behavior ranging from the prescribed to the permissible and even to the barely tolerated. Failure to recognize and discriminate among types of conformity has sometimes led social workers, psychologists, and educators to espouse unduly restrictive goals for the nonconformists with whom they work. In work with lower-class delinquents, for example, many of us have behaved as if the only acceptable outcome were their adoption of middle-class values -- despite the fact that some youngsters cannot be equipped to meet these values.

The exclusive promulgation of middle-class values in delinquency programs has significant consequences. If we successfully inculcate middle-class aspirations in working-class children who are unable to achieve them, we are simply frustrating them all the more. On the one hand, we may bring them into sharp conflict with those of their peers who exhibit working-class orientations; hence their access to many potentially gratifying relationships may be closed off. Further, we may limit the extent to which they are able to find satisfactions in the context of working-class culture itself. This culture, it should be observed, cannot be defined simply as the absence of middle-class values; it is also a way of life which has its own dignity and intrinsic worth. Here we would point particularly to the strong emphasis on family life and solidarity, and to the "person-oriented" nature of social relationships. If we fail to identify and to support worthwhile values of this kind in our service programs, we merely contribute to the frustrations stemming from our society's extraordinary emphasis upon social mobility.

It should also be observed that many worthwhile values inhere in the cultural traditions of various ethnic and nationality groups in the lower strata of our society. A program which emphasizes excessively the goal of social ascent may lead to the unfortunate repudiation of these values by the persons whom it reaches and influences. Finally, there are many values in American culture generally which are worth buttressing, although they may have little to do with upward mobility. Obviously such emphases should not become an exclusive preoccupation of an action program, for this might have the effect of handicapping lower-class children all the more im competition for major social goals. But it is one thing to say that we must expand legitimate opportunities for social ascent; it is quite another thing to say that the only values in life are associated with achievement.

What we are saying here may appear to run counter to our earlier emphasis on the necessity of opening channels of opportunity and equipping the young to utilize them. To the extent that a contradiction exists, it only reflects the larger contradiction in our society between the ideology of equality and the realities of inequality, between seeking satisfaction through upward mobility and finding other forms of satisfaction. No program of action can fail to reflect these contradictions.

Goal of Promoting Social Change

Attempts to deal with the aspirations of delinquents and low-income youth generally should also include an orientation toward social change. Opportunities for collective social action should be incorporated into any large-scale delinquency program. We make this argument because we believe that a feeling of alienation from the larger society is a fundamental dynamic in much collective delinquent behavior. If opportunities for the constructive expression of alienation can be organized and employed, the problem of delinquency can be correspondingly reduced. The task is to direct the expression of alienation against the social structure which is its cause and to discourage its expression in delinquent acts. In this way, the discontented may help to alter the very inequalities which oppress them.

Some persons who experience disjuncture between their aspirations and the possibilities of achieving them look outward, attributing their dilemma to unjust and arbitrary institutional arrangements, such as racial discrimination. Others look inward, attributing their difficulties to personal deficiencies, such as a lack of discipline, zeal, intelligence, or persistence. Whether the "failure" blames the social order or himself is of central importance to the understanding of delinquent conduct (if not of all forms of deviance), for the one form of attribution leads to alienation from the social order and the other to self-deprecation. Once he is alienated from conventional rules and ideologies, the delinquent is free to experiment with illegitimate ways of securing access to success-goals -- for example, searching for wealth and status through participation in groups organized for thievery.

In the ideology of our society, success and failure are explained in essentially individualistic terms. Success is formally attributed to ambition, perseverance, talent, and the like; failure is said to result from a lack of these traits. This tendency to equate success with individual merit and failure with individual inferiority contributes to the stability of existing social inequalities by deflecting criticism from the institutional order. Those who attribute failure to their own shortcomings are in effect accepting the prevailing ideology of the society. They explain their adjustment problems on the basis of socially accepted criteria. Such persons are not at odds with the society; on the contrary, self-blame is an important index of attitudinal conformity, for it is essentially an affirmation of the fairness and moral validity of the prevailing ideology. Those who explain failure in this way then have the problem of coping with the psychological consequences of regarding themselves as unworthy or inferior. It is unlikely, however, that they will join with others to develop delinquent solutions, for they see their adjustment problems as essentially personal.

Those who feel that they are victims of arbitrary institutional arrangements, however, are at odds with the social order. This alienation generates a great deal of tension in their dealings with the carriers of the dominant ideology, such as teachers, social workers, policemen, and judges. To some extent, tension is relieved if alienated persons gain support from others in the same position who share the view that their misfortunes are due to unjust social arrangements. Collective support can provide reassurance, security, and validation for a frame of reference toward which the world at large is hostile and disapproving. Hence the tendency for many embittered youngsters to join delinquent gangs.

If alienation is an important factor in the development of delinquent gangs, then the implication for prevention is clear. Approaches to lower-class people generally and to participants in delinquent gangs in particular must recognize frankly the objective barriers to opportunity which they face. Too often we act as if our object is to lead dissident persons to account for their circumstances by questioning their own adequacy without regard to the adequacy of institutional arrangements. The tendency is to explore the motivations underlying the individual's membership in a delinquent group, and to assess the ways in which he has learned to satisfy his needs through delinquency. The result, whether intended or not, is often to explain the existence of the delinquent gang on the basis of the maladjustment of its individual members, without acknowledging as well the influence of the social order. The projected remedies are thus of an exclusively individual nature, and the ideological and structural bases of the social order are unchallenged.

We believe, however, that an approach to the management of delinquent subcultures would be much more successful if it did not focus upon personality issues to the exclusion of issues of social justice. Many participants in delinquent gangs are quite well aware that not only many legitimate economic channels but even various stable illegitimate channels (i.e., the "rackets") are restricted or closed to them because of racial or socioeconomic factors. These inequalities would pose a less serious problem in a society which sought to make a virtue of poverty or which otherwise controlled the aspirations of participants. But in a society which systematically inculcates discontent with one's social position and which emphasizes the doctrine of equality of opportunity, barriers to opportunity based on race, nationality, or socioeconomic status create a pervading sense of defeat and despair among the dispossessed.

The problem in dealing with delinquent gangs, then, is not simply to reduce pressures toward deviance or to dissuade individual delinquents, by therapeutic and other means, to relinquish delinquent ways of behaving. If they are to give up forms of adjustment that they find satisfying, they must be given functional alternatives. If they harbor a deep sense of resentment against existing institutional arrangements, they must be shown, not that their resentment is unwarranted, but that there are nondeviant, if controversial, ways of expressing such sentiments. This is the sense in which organized programs of social action can contribute both to the breakdown of social inequalities and to the management of the delinquency problem.

Social Control

In our discussion thus far we have stressed measures designed primarily to prevent the emergence of delinquent behavior. Now, however, we must introduce a qualification of our main argument, for we do not believe that our approach or any other approach will succeed in wholly eliminating juvenile delinquency or the social pressures leading to delinquent behavior. It therefore is pertinent to discuss the task of social control. At the outset, we should like to note that we do not conceive of the problem of social control simply in terms of repression and punishment, for these measures generally aggravate the situation. The strategies of social control which we shall develop here are intended, rather, to contribute to the constructive management of delinquency.

We are inclined to the view that some degree of delinquency among lower-class urban groups is an inevitable, permanent feature of our social life. There are at least two reasons for our conviction.

First, a society without juvenile delinquency would be one in which the minimal social and psychological resources for conforming behavior were equally available to all members, whatever their position in the social order. However, one of the universal features of social life is an inherent strain toward a system of organized and enforced inequality, or what we call a system of social stratification. Every society has the problem of defining what is conforming and what is deviant. Once these definitions come into existence, together with corresponding systems of rewards and punishments, pressures arise to monopolize the resources which make conformity possible and thus to control access to social goals. In one sense, therefore, social stratification can be understood as the unequal distribution of the possibilities for conformity. Groups low in the structure are thus faced with limitations in access to the social and psychological resources which are, by definition, prerequisite to conforming behavior. In our society, for example, the deprived occupational and economic circumstances of lower-class households provide children with little intellectual stimulation, facility in manipulating abstract symbols and language, or other skills in communication; it follows that these children are handicapped in the competition for major social goals. Their failure in social competition often evokes invidious definition by the carriers of middle-class values, with the result that they are handicapped all the more. In effect, they are eliminated as competitors to middle-class children. All this serves to maintain existing inequalities. In other words, systems of social stratification generate delinquent behavior by restricting opportunities for conformity among persons in the lower ranks of the social order. This leads in turn to the accommodative adaptations which we have noted earlier -- adaptations which sometimes reinforce the very traits and attitudes that disable lower-class persons in the competition for social goals. In the face of economic limitations, for example, some lower-class urban young adults develop attitudes which justify (if not glorify) the status of unemployed. Among such groups, it is permissible to work if one needs funds for a "fix," for example, but then only for as long as it takes to accumulate the price. A permanent, mobile force of unemployed persons appears to be functional for the social order; there are many temporary, dirty jobs to be done. Persons who have been socialized into the unskilled type of lower-class subculture that we have described are socially and psychologically prepared to occupy the status of unemployed, making themselves available sporadically for temporary, unskilled forms of work. To the extent that the social order cannot or will not solve some of its work problems except in this fashion, such attitudes and modes of adjustment can be expected to persist, for they reflect the very inequalities upon which our society is founded.

As long as social origins -- defined in economic, ethnic, racial, nationality, or religious terms -- continue to act as a significant barrier to upward mobility, delinquency will persist. Given the American ideology of equality of opportunity, these organized barriers to mobility are perceived by those who face them as unjust and discriminatory; hence the alienation which motivates much gang delinquency.

It follows from this argument that some degree of deviant behavior -- such as delinquency -- is inevitable in our society since it is inconceivable that we will abandon our belief in equality of opportunity or that forms of social organization might one day emerge which are not based on some pattern of organized inequality in access to significant social resources. Social stratification performs important functions for our social order; for example, it supports a complex division of labor without which the industrial order could not survive. Ironically, delinquent behavior may be one price our society pays for its particular economic system, its high standard of living, and its ideology of equality.

Secondly, to conceive of eliminating delinquent behavior, one would have to imagine a society that was more or less static. In such a society, the strains to which we are accustomed -- such as those between generations, between occupational and kinship roles, between social classes -- would be absent. But even if it were possible to create such a society, one might ask whether it would be desirable to do so. The primary pressures for social change, the basic dynamics of movement and growth, stem fundamentally from dislocations in the institutional order, from strains between the structural elements in social life. For example, conflict between generations may be a source of great tension in our society, but it is also essential for the maintenance of our rapid rate of social progress. Only if the adolescent can be partly freed of the thoughtways and constraints of older generations can he participate creatively in the development of new social and technological forms.

Sometimes, of course, the tensions engendered by conflicts between generations contribute to the emergence of delinquent behavior. Thus, the very social dislocations which lead to progress can also lead to delinquency. And since it is unlikely that we shall abandon our concern with progress and higher living standards, it is equally unlikely that we can wholly eliminate the concomitant outbreaks of delinquent behavior.

For these and other reasons, we are inclined to reject the notion that it is possible or desirable to eliminate all pressures toward delinquent behavior. We do, however, believe that it is possible and desirable to reduce these pressures, as the preceding sections of this chapter attest. The remaining issue, in our opinion, is how can we manage the consequences of the residual dissidence so as to minimize the resulting adaptations which are most harmful to the society? The task, as we see it, is to regulate the content of delinquent adaptations so as to discourage those which are most costly to the social order.

The task of combatting delinquency is generally conceived as a struggle between conformity and deviance: the approach is usually to promote conformity by attempting to prevent youngsters from becoming delinquent in the first place or, if they become delinquent, aiding them to return to conforming status. However, if we assume that some degree of delinquent behavior is an inevitable feature of our social life, a strategy devoted exclusively to reducing the rate of delinquency is only partly useful. As we have suggested, an equally important objective would be to regulate the content of delinquent behavior.

Why do we stress the importance of this task? First, not all delinquent adaptations are equally costly to the participants or to the society as a whole. Second, the available resources for combatting delinquency are limited; the amount of funds and personnel at the disposal of those in the fields of prevention and rehabilitation are and will remain scarce. We must, therefore, continually make choices as to the allocation of these scarce resources. Indeed, such choices are implicit in every program of action.

The problem as we see it, then, is to choose between various forms of delinquency on the basis of their relative costliness to the social order. In the field of male delinquency, we have identified three major types of gang: the criminal, conflict, and "retreatist" groups. If we decide to devote our resources to modifying one type of gang, then clearly we are saying that we believe the other types to be less dangerous to society. Unfortunately, these decisions sometimes rest upon premises that are of doubtful validity because they are not based on a systematic assessment of the costs of various forms of delinquent behavior. There seems, for example, to be much more public concern about conflict gangs than about the other two types. Indeed, gang delinquency is equated in the public mind with conflict behavior; warfare in the streets has become the dominant symbol of lower-class male delinquency. We question, however, whether the social cost of conflict gangs as compared with that of drug-using groups warrants this emphasis. Conflict behavior is abandoned with approaching adulthood whereas drug use often persists throughout adult life. More offenses against property and persons are committed by members of drug-using groups than by members of conflict gangs, for drugs are very expensive and the addict usually turns to crime as a source of funds. Addiction also has more negative consequences for family life and for educational and occupational stability. Furthermore, drug use causes many more deaths among addicts than does conflict behavior among its participants. For these and many other reasons, then, drug use entails much higher social costs than conflict behavior.

We believe that close examination of the conditions under which various forms of delinquency emerge will suggest ways of manipulating the social environment so as to block the development of the more costly forms. This belief arises from a fundamental distinction which applies to all forms of deviance including delinquency: namely, that the conditions which give rise to a predisposition to deviate do not necessarily determine the content of the resulting deviation. Deviance is, we have said, a response to restrictions on the opportunity to conform. But a given problem of adjustment can result in a variety of deviant outcomes. New variables intervene which convert propensities to deviate into one or another specific mode of deviance -- for example, delinquent gangs may take a criminal, or conflict, or drug-oriented form. Full understanding of any deviant adaptation, whether delinquent or otherwise, must, therefore, take into account not only the forces that produce violations of norms but also those that determine the content of these violations.

The variables which convert generalized pressures toward deviance into one or another form of deviance may be understood as comprising a deviant opportunity system.[17] Some of these variables exert a subtle influence on the individual, leading him toward a given form of deviance; others provide the social resources required for the existence of that deviant adaptation. Both types must be present.

As an illustration of the first type, let us consider the operation of a specific channeling variable -- namely, cultural definitions of masculinity and femininity. Let us imagine two adolescents who occupy the same position in the social structure except that one is male and the other female, and let us assume that they experience equivalent

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17. For a further discussion of the relationship between pressures toward deviance and the availability of illegitimate opportunity, see R. A. Cloward, "Illegitimate Means, Anomie, and Deviant Behavior," American Sociological Review, Vol. 24, No. 2 (April 1959), pp. 164-76.

problems of adjustment. Despite the similarity in their positions and problems, however, we would not ordinarily expect that they would respond in the same way. Modes of deviant behavior, like modes of conforming behavior, are differentiated along a dimension of masculinity-femininity. For example, some forms of delinquency, such as joining a conflict gang, are definitely masculine; other modes, such as prostitution, are definitely feminine. We would consider it rather inappropriate for a female to become a "bopper" or for a male to be "in the life." When people become deviant, in other words, their selection of deviant adaptations is controlled in part by social definitions of masculinity and femininity.

Aside from general social definitions and comparable forces which guide people in the types of deviance which they adopt, there is the further and extremely important fact that deviant social roles, like conforming social roles, do not result simply from volition. Whatever one's motivation, it is as difficult to make a successful career of crime as of law. In both instances, certain social supports or opportunities must be present if the role is to exist at all.

Conditions Favorable to the Emergence of Criminal Groups

We can illustrate this proposition by examining the characteristics of communities which support the emergence of criminal modes of delinquency. Slum communities, a number of observers have noted, are not necessarily disorganized simply because they are slums.[18] Sometimes they exhibit forms of organization which, though different in many respects from middle-class forms of social organization, are extremely stable and give slum life unity, direction, and cohesion. Slum communities, like other communities, can thus be placed on a continuum, from those which are highly organized to those which are relatively disorganized.

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[18] Descriptions of slum organization upon which this discussion is based may be found in the following: C. R. Shaw, The Jack-Roller, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930; Shaw, The Natural History of a Delinquent Career, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931; Shaw et. al., Delinquency Areas, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1940; and Shaw and H. D. McKay, Juvenile Delinquency and Urban Areas, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942; E. H. Sutherland, ed., The Professional Thief, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937; and Sutherland, Principles of Criminology, 4th Ed., Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1947; W. F. Whyte, Street Corner Society, Enl. Ed., Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955; Solomon Kobrin, "The Conflict of Values in Delinquency Areas," American Sociological Review, Vol. 16 (Oct. 1951), pp. 657-58.

For our present purposes, two forms of organization are especially important. The first is the relative integration of the carriers of conventional and criminal values -- that is, the degree to which patterns of accommodation and cooperation exist among police, politicians, racketeers, professional criminals, businessmen, and other local residents, legitimate and illegitimate. The second is the relative integration of different age-levels of offender -- that is, the closeness of relationships among criminal apprentices, semi-sophisticated young adult criminals, and mature members of the underworld.

These two features of social organization are crucially important in the evolution of delinquent subcultures. Unless the society seeks the services provided by a social role, it is difficult for the role to persist. Those engaged in organized crime provide many services which are more or less in demand: gambling, prostitution, narcotics, strong-arm squads, and the like. In order for these services to be provided in an orderly, continuous way, they must be protected from elements in the society which would like to suppress them. Thus coalitions of groups which have an interest in the preservation of these services grow up to defend them; where such coalitions between the police, racketeers, politicians, businessmen, and other interested groups emerge in the slum community, we may speak of integration between the carriers of criminal and conventional values. Such integration is a functional prerequisite for the existence of stable, organized criminal enterprise.

Communities which exhibit this form of integration can provide illegitimate career opportunities to young people for whom legitimate routes to success-goals are restricted or closed. In such communities, the young may orient themselves toward careers in crime as alternatives to legitimate careers which, if they were more accessible, might otherwise have commanded their allegiance. The integration of the carriers of criminal and conventional values thus produces a stable criminal opportunity structure.

But the availability of objective opportunity to enter criminal careers is not sufficient to account for the actual emergence of such careers. Persons who orient themselves toward criminal careers must be inducted; they must be exposed to situations in which they can acquire the prerequisite criminal values and skills. This learning function is performed by the integration of different age-levels of offender. In the slum community that exhibits such integration, the young find older offenders after whom they may pattern themselves and from whom they may learn the ways of crime. Each age-level is connected to a higher level so that the young are ultimately linked to the adult criminal system. Knowledge, values, skills, and attitudes are transmitted through this age hierarchy. For those who excel in learning, upward passage is assured, and a position in a stable adult criminal enterprise may be the eventual reward. These are communities, then, which provide opportunities for both criminal learning and criminal careers. They are communities in which the criminal type of delinquent gang is to be found -- a gang composed of youngsters who are gradually coming to occupy positions of apprenticeship in organized or professional crime.

If, on the other hand, a boy finds himself in a slum community which does not exhibit these two types of social integration, then for all practical purposes a stable criminal career is not available to him, for he will not have access to the learning and opportunity systems associated with protected roles in organized crime.

These two illustrations should serve to make our point that access to various delinquent roles is governed by such personal criteria as age, sex, ethnicity, and socioeconomic status, and that the existence of the delinquent roles themselves depends upon identifiable features of community structure. Forms of delinquency can thus be said to be regulated in various ways by the social structure. Our task is to identify those regulatory patterns and to translate our knowledge into deliberate strategies for managing delinquent behavior.

Conditions Favorable to the Emergence of Conflict Gangs

We suggested earlier that we consider conflict behavior a more acceptable deviant alternative than drug-using behavior. That is, if we cannot completely eliminate pressures leading to the formation of delinquent gangs, we would prefer that residual gangs exhibit a conflict motif rather than be organized for the consumption of narcotics. How, then, can we make sure that conflict patterns will predominate over drug-using patterns? The first step in developing such a strategy is to ask: Under what conditions do conflict gangs emerge?

In this connection, we might note that criminal and conflict gangs do not generally occur in the same types of slum. Purposeless, undisciplined aggressive acts are not tolerated in the integrated community. This is not to say that violence has no place in the scheme of life in these communities. There are occasions when violence is called forth and is defined as appropriate. But what gang conflict does occur in these areas is generally defensive rather than offensive; local gangs may protect their territory against invasion by foreign, marauding gangs, but they are not otherwise urged to go forth and do battle with other gangs. The young are made aware by their elders that street warfare not only has little point but tends to bring unfavorable public scrutiny to the community, scrutiny which may endanger the security of various illegitimate enterprises. In effect, the social norms of the community, illegitimate as well as legitimate, exert constant pressure for the restraint of violent, aggressive behavior among adolescent groups.

These norms against violence, all of which are highly observable and thus known to dissident adolescents, are enforced by powerful community sanctions. Not the least of these sanctions is the power of various adults in the community to control the distribution of illegitimate rewards. In criminal opportunity systems, as in opportunity systems generally, there is a surplus of contenders for elite positions. Not all who orient themselves upward in these opportunity structures can succeed. Those who control the selection process, which takes place at every age level, have enormous influence over the behavior of adolescents and young adults, for they are in a position to make available or to withhold great rewards. Thus the behavior of the young, however great the pressures and frustrations to which they are subjected, is encompassed within a system of social controls that originates in both the legitimate and the illegitimate sectors of the community. The integrated slum community, therefore, does not constitute a favorable environment for the emergence of the fighting gang.

The conflict subculture is principally a product of unintegrated communities. High rates of vertical and geographic mobility, massive housing projects, and changing land use, as in the case of residential areas that are encroached upon by adjacent commercial or industrial enterprises, keep a community off balance; tentative efforts to develop social organization are blocked by the continued disruptions of mobility. Transiency and instability thus become the overriding features of social life.

Unintegrated communities tend to house a conflict form of delinquency for several reasons. They cannot provide either legitimate or institutionalized illegitimate channels to success-goals. Although there may be a good deal of criminal activity in these areas, it is sporadic, unorganized, and poorly protected. Because organized and protected criminal opportunity structures do not exist, stable criminal careers cannot develop. The frustrations produced among adolescents by the discrepancies between their aspirations and legitimate avenues of social ascent are intensified by the absence of institutionalized illegitimate channels of social ascent.

Furthermore, unintegrated neighborhoods have virtually no capacity to control the outcome of these frustrations. Not only are conventional segments of these communities disorganized, but there are no organized illegitimate sectors either. Hence social controls do not originate in either legitimate or illegitimate segments of community life. In such areas, frustrations are heightened at the same moment that social controls are weakened.

These appear to be the conditions that give rise to the conflict form of subcultural behavior. In the absence of institutionalized channels of social ascent, whether legitimate or illegitimate, and in the absence of effective patterns of social control, dissident adolescent groups seize upon violence as an avenue to status which *is* available and which *can* be utilized. Thus a network of gangs grows up in which competition for status rests upon skill in street combat and other forms of violence.

Conditions Favorable to the Emergence of Drug-Using Gangs

Drug use can arise in a number of ways, either directly or in conjunction with other forms of delinquency. It is important to note that there is sometimes a sequential relationship between conflict behavior and drug-using behavior. Often drug use tends to emerge when opportunities for conflict are no longer available. As members of conflict gangs begin to leave school, move into employment, and form more permanent relationships with the opposite sex, they encounter expectations that they grow up and relinquish adolescent forms of behavior. As they take on adult reference groups, in short, they find that excellence in the manipulation of violence no longer brings high status. To the contrary, such behavior generally evokes extreme negative behavior -- employment opportunities may be closed, girl friends may rebel, and the agencies of law enforcement may impose more severe sanctions against street violence by persons who now are within the statutory definition of adulthood. What was permitted or tolerated in adolescence tends to be sharply proscribed in adulthood. As a result, older fighting gangs begin to decide that conflict behavior is "kid stuff," and they too begin to think more in terms of taking on adult responsibilities in economic, familial, and community spheres of activity.

The point of transition from adolescence to adulthood -- the point at which organized conflict behavior is usually relinquished -- is also the point at which drug use rises precipitously. Many former "bops" do not succeed in making an adult adjustment; somehow or other they succumb to drugs. One of the factors that undoubtedly has a crucial effect on what happens to older boys at this turning point is the availability of social resources for an adult adjustment. A boy who occupied the gratifying adolescent status of gang leader, for example, may find little satisfaction in shifting to the adult status of unemployed. Members of conflict gangs for whom various social resources are available are likely to make the transition to a satisfactory adult status; those for whom such resources are not available may, we suggest, tend to adopt a new form of deviance, such as drug use.

Conflict behavior can, of course, be reduced sharply even before the participants approach adulthood, simply by invoking severe penalties against it. This may have happened in New York City, where drug-using patterns have recently increased sharply. Since the late '40's, and early '50's, when conflict gangs were rampant in New York, public outrage has forced a crackdown by the police, courts, and youth-serving agencies, with the result that the incidence of street fighting has decreased in many areas. In its wake is a new and far more troublesome problem. Many areas in which conflict gangs have been most successfully suppressed now exhibit sharply increased rates of drug use and associated forms of criminal activity -- not just among young adults but among adolescents as well. Thus it appears that drug-using patterns may arise when the following conditions are present: (1) access to conventional roles is limited; (2) access to stable criminal roles and to stable conflict roles is limited; and (3) social controls are weak.

Strategies of Social Control

The implications of our analysis for the social control of delinquent gangs may be specified as follows.

Strategies to reduce drug-using patterns: It is clear from our analysis that restricting access to one form of deviance may result simply in its conversion into another and perhaps worse form. If we wish to reduce drug-using behavior, then, we must not unduly restrict access to less costly forms of delinquency. Repressive tactics by external agencies of social control must be kept within reasonable limits. It is also clear from our analysis that the most vulnerable age for the onset of drug-using behavior is late adolescence. This, then, is a time when maximal efforts should be made to reach the "bopper" and to provide him with sound resources for making the transition to adulthood. If he sees no hope for assuming adult responsibilities -- especially for becoming legitimately or illegitimately employed -- then we can reasonably expect him to turn to drugs.

In addition, narcotics use must be attacked directly. The most effective method would be to restrict the sources of illegal supply, but this is a goal beyond our means. We can, however, experiment with ways of making the distribution of drugs less profitable, as well as making it unnecessary for the user to engage in criminal activity in order to satisfy his craving for drugs. Conducting large-scale public-education programs and providing adequate facilities for detoxification are further ways of reducing drug use.

Curbing extreme conflict behavior: It is apparent that in attempting to reduce drug-using behavior we must simultaneously keep the extreme forms of conflict behavior under control. The strategy we suggest for reducing conflict behavior is based on the theory that such behavior is essentially a product of conditions in which both legitimate and illegitimate opportunities are limited and social controls are weak. It is the disorganized community that gives rise to conflict gangs. It follows, then, that increasing the effectiveness of community social controls will limit conflict behavior. In this sense, the long-range target in a service program should be not the individual delinquent or even the conflict gang but, rather, the community itself. By building patterns of relationships among adults, we can avert the extreme forms of the conflict pattern. Social controls must be exercised, but through indigenous rather than external agencies. Strengthening indigenous institutional forms in the community, increasing the observability of adult prohibitions against extreme violence, and enhancing the community's power to impose sanctions will be much more effective than repression of the conflict behavior through harsh measures imposed externally, by the police and other agencies. In the long run, the young will be far more responsive to an adult community which exhibits the capacity to organize itself, to manage its own problems, to impose informal sanctions, and to mobilize indigenous resources for young people, than they will be to a community which must have these functions performed by external agents.

Curbing theft: In our earlier discussion of illegitimate opportunity systems, we described the system of interests in some slum areas which supports the development and continuity of criminal careers. We have no expectation that our program can materially influence this system, and thus we doubt that we can appreciably reduce the rates of entry into professional and organized crime. It should be noted, however, that in many slum areas a great deal of petty crime occurs more or less independent of any structured criminal opportunity systems. Such petty crime includes shoplifting, amateurish robbery and burglary, and other types of simple theft. Since the society chooses to provide the more organized forms of criminal activity with immunity from prosecution, it is the petty offender who becomes enmeshed with the police and who clogs the workings of the agencies of criminal justice. To the extent that a community is reorganized to provide greater access to legitimate opportunity, young people may be less inclined to turn to this type of activity, thus reducing considerably the task of law enforcement. In other words, the approach to the reduction of petty theft is not so much one of manipulating the availability of criminal opportunities as it is one of expanding the availability of conventional opportunities.

Chapter III

AN OVERVIEW OF THE PROGRAM OF ACTION

A program of action, we have said, must be grounded in assumptions regarding the nature of the social problem we are seeking to alleviate. In the last chapter, we set forth a number of propositions about the forces giving rise to delinquent behavior, the forces determining the content of deviant adaptations, and the forces which permit these adaptations to persist. On the basis of these propositions, we derived three general guidelines for action.

The first of these, and clearly the most important, is that we must find ways of expanding opportunities for conformity for young people in the lower strata of society. The assumption underlying this guideline is that the resources for conformity are not equally available to everyone but tend, rather, to be directly related to socioeconomic position.

We emphasized the fact, however, that merely providing new opportunities may not alleviate delinquency if youngsters are not also helped to exploit these opportunities. We noted that people who are denied access to various social resources soon lose the capacity to make use of them. Indeed, they may even develop organized patterns of living which become barriers to the utilization of opportunity. The problem is not that they are undersocialized or incompletely socialized but, rather, that they are differently socialized. We suggest, therefore, that program forms must be evolved which will permit us to intervene in arresting these self-defeating modes of behavior.

Finally, we pointed out that deviance cannot be wholly eliminated since some deviance is inevitable in every society. We suggested, therefore, that we must find ways of managing the consequences of residual pressures toward deviance. In this connection, three guidelines for action were offered: (1) emphasizing the positive features in lower-class life and helping youngsters to identify with these elements; (2) providing opportunities for the constructive expression of discontent and alienation, especially by opening channels for collective social action and protest against class and ethnic discrimination; (3) systematically assessing the relative social costs of various types of deviant behavior and seeking to restrict opportunities for the more costly types.

In this chapter, we shall present an overview of the programs which we believe will meet these objectives. (The programs are described in greater detail in the Appendixes.) It should be noted that although each program has been designed to focus primarily on one of the objectives, all of the programs inevitably bear on several other objectives as well. Thus a work program may simultaneously increase the number of available jobs, provide skills training to facilitate success, and include social services to maximize the worker's employment and learning capacity. It may reduce pressures toward delinquent behavior and also provide conforming alternatives for youngsters who are already deviant. An indigenous organization may devote its attention to the reduction of restrictive practices while also providing learning experiences for its participants. It may simultaneously reduce pressures to deviate, increase the availability of conforming alternatives, and serve as a means of social control.

Although the Mobilization program is conceived as an integrated whole, it is necessary, for discussion purposes, to review the requirements of the various component programs under headings which may sometimes be arbitrary. Our proposed plan of action (and the format of this chapter) contains five basic elements. First, we explore programs in the "world of work" which can be expected to expand opportunities and their utilization. We then discuss programs in the "world of education," with particular emphasis on aspects of education which bear on occupational preparation. The third area pertains to the community; it consists of programs designed to heighten social integration, both as a way of increasing social control and as a way of increasing collective efforts to improve conditions of life. In the fourth and fifth sections, specialized forms of services to individuals and families, and to groups, respectively, are discussed.

The World of Work

The importance of the world of work is self-evident. Gainful employment is the accepted means of attaining monetary rewards in our money-oriented culture; indeed, occupation is the chief determinant of social status and the principal road to upward mobility. It is through the work role that men feel a connection to their society, from which they derive a sense of well-being. As C. Wright Mills has noted, "No moral endeavor, no political orientation, no human study that does not pay close attention to man at work can possibly be adequate for our time."[1]

A primary objective of a work program for teen-agers must be the creation of new employment possibilities. The extent of unemployment among youth today has been amply documented: as of January 1961, the unemployment rate for youth from 16 to 20 years of age was 16.8 percent, as compared to an over-all unemployment rate of 7.7 percent.[2] During the 1970's the problem of youthful unemployment will be aggravated by the entry of 26 million new young workers into the labor market, an increase of 40 percent over the entries during the preceding decade.[3]

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[1] C. Wright Mills, "Work Milieu and Social Structure," People at Work: A Symposium, San Francisco: Asilomar Conference of the Mental Health Society of Northern California, undated, p. 36.

Lower-class youngsters tribute disproportionately to the ranks of the unemployed because they tend to be undereducated and consequently to fall into the lower-status, more vulnerable occupational categories. The percentage of unemployment among unskilled workers is twice as high as among all other job categories;[4] and the percentage among persons with less than a high-school education is nearly double that among high-school graduates, and triple that among persons with some college education.[5] Thus, lower-class youth are members of the "last to be hired, first to be fired" category. In view of current trends in the employment market -- i.e., increasing automation, heightened training requirements -- this situation can be expected to worsen.

Critics of the contemporary work scene have decried the excessive mechanization, the highly routinized nature, and the lack of social utility of much labor. The trained automobile repairman, for example, engages as much in auto cosmetics as in auto mechanics. In such a circumstance, one critic has observed, it is "hard for the young man to maintain his feelings of justification, sociability, serviceability. It is not surprising if he quickly becomes cynical and time-serving, interested in a fast buck."[6] The prospect for the undereducated youth is for a job (if he is fortunate enough to find one) which is intrinsically unsatisfying, which supplies insufficient immediate reward, monetary or otherwise, and which holds little promise of future reward.

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[2] Arthur J. Goldberg, Secretary of Labor, reported in the New York Times, June 5, 1961.

[3] U. S. Department of Labor, Manpower, Challenge of the Sixties, Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1960, p. 14.

[4] Marcia K. Freedman, "Work and the Adolescent," Golden Anniversary White House Conference on Children and Youth, Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1960, p. 149.

[5] U. S. Department of Labor, op. cit., p. 17.

The scarcity of jobs for young people in general, and particularly for lower-class adolescents, suggests a need for radical intervention. Although sensitive vocational counseling and aggressive placement are important means of meeting this condition, they are futile without job opportunities about which to counsel youth and vacancies in which to place them. Given the enormity of the task, job-finding programs in private industry cannot be expected to fill the gap.[7] Although some employers will risk hiring additional young people in response to public appeal, the number of such placements is insignificant in comparison to the need. In view of the persistent marginality of many lower-income youngsters, their lack of marketable skills, their undeveloped academic abilities, and their social immaturity, it is not surprising that this is so. Nor is it feasible or desirable to attempt to place young people in jobs now held by older, more experienced workers. Men with families obviously have priority in the competition for scarce jobs, and the gap between the requirements of the labor force and the number of laborers is growing steadily wider. New jobs therefore must be created for young people, jobs which do not now exist. These new employment opportunities

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6. Paul Goodman, "Youth in the Organized Society," Commentary, Vol. 26, No. 2 (Feb. 1960), p. 96.
7. Judge Justine Wise Polier, of Domestic Relations Court, reports that the Mayor's Committee of Industrial Leaders for Youth, consisting of top New York business executives, had produced only 50 jobs by July 5, 1960, after having pledged earlier that year to find work for large numbers of youngsters from deprived areas. New York Times, July 19, 1960.

must be designed to fill some of the many social needs that are now unsatisfied. The increase in leisure time, for example, creates a need for workers in such consumption fields as recreation.

It is also important to publicize existing opportunities and the routes to the achievement of those opportunities. Lower-class youngsters are particularly disadvantaged in their lack of vocational contacts and the inadequacy of their role models. The youngster whose father knows the boss or high-placed workers who can give him advance information about job openings obviously has an important advantage in the competition for work. When we consider that only a small fraction of jobs are obtained through such formal channels as employment agencies and newspaper ads, we can understand how significant a barrier to achievement is the lower-class lack of vocational "connections."

When home is remote from places of employment, the vocational aspirations of youngsters are especially affected by adults whom they know. In deprived inner-city areas, youngsters shun blue-collar jobs, because the adults they know who work with their hands perform menial, unrewarding tasks. Thus their image of the blue-collar worker is of one at the "bottom of the ladder," an unskilled domestic rather than the more rewarded skilled craftsman.

Role models are also needed to demonstrate ways in which one prepares for the more desirable occupations. One expert has noted:

> How a young man goes about entering his chosen occupation is determined by the adequacy of his information about that occupation, by the extent to which he has been able to observe others entering and working in that occupation. Whether or not he seeks the best training for it, under appropriate auspices, depends partly upon the quality of his contact with people in that occupation. Whether or not he applies for jobs in the proper places, at the proper time, and in the proper manner, also is in part the result of how much opportunity he has had to observe others going through the same process, and

> of the adequacy of the understanding of the occupational mores which he has acquired through family activities, discussion and contacts.[8]

Building bridges to adult careers, making these bridges apparent to youngsters, and clarifying for them where the bridges lead and what is required for the journey require programs whose objective is to increase contact between adults and community institutions, youngsters and community institutions, youngsters and adults, and even between various age groups, so that older boys may serve as models for younger ones. Large-scale adult-education programs need to be launched, so that parents may more adequately interpret the environment to their children and may increase their competency to serve as models for youngsters. Lower-class children need particularly to be exposed to people "one rung up the ladder," so that routes are visible and perceived as accessible. In addition, the fact that the employment of youth is literally no one's affair needs to be remedied; a single over-all body solely devoted to this area of development is sorely required. Further, school programs closely integrated with the tasks and training requisites of the world of work are crucial.

In addition to creating new employment opportunities and publicizing existent ones, a work program must make jobs more accessible to young people. That is, it must make youth more employable. It has been estimated, for example, that in New York City there are only five qualified persons for every seven skilled openings, with particularly serious shortages in such fields as auto mechanics, nursing, and stenography. The criteria that influence access to employment opportunities are of

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8. Donald E. Super, The Psychology of Careers, New York: Harper & Bros., 1957, p. 244.

two kinds: achieved and ascribed. Achieved criteria are acquired in the process of socialization; ascribed criteria, such as ethnicity and age, are often fixed biologically. Lower-class youngsters are disadvantaged on both counts.

The barriers to educational opportunity for lower-class youngsters will be discussed in the next section. We note here only the estimate that 75 percent of all youngsters in slum areas of large cities enter the labor market without a high-school diploma.[9] Increasing automation and the steady decrease in unskilled jobs means that employers are requiring a high-school diploma for most entry jobs, and particularly for those which hold the promise of promotion. The beginning job of the nongraduate is likely to be the highest he can ever aspire to, since he may lack the academic tools to learn a more complex skill. Even apprenticeships, insufficiently available as they are, will soon require high-school diplomas, and some of them already require considerable reading and arithmetic proficiency.[10] Not only does the school dropout lack the work and academic skill necessary for advancement; he is often so undereducated as to be unable to fulfill the simple requirements of an application process, from reaching the employment office to filling out the necessary forms.

In addition, lower-class youngsters, because of their own distinctive socialization, often lack such "middle-class" graces as good speech, promptness, neatness, and politeness. This handicaps them in work settings which tend to be mechanized, routine, and formal. It is not surprising, therefore, that they are as often fired for "poor work attitudes" as for poor performance.

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[9] Ford Foundation, Report on Conference on School Dropouts and the Employment of Youth, New York, 1960, p. 3.

[10] Harry Kursh, Apprenticeships in America, New York: W. W. Norton, 1958, pp. 65-66.

Negroes and Puerto Ricans, overwhelmingly members of the lower class, face the further barrier to vocational opportunity of discriminatory practices in regard to preparation for work, referrals to jobs, hiring, and promotion. These practices run the gamut from subtle to blatant discrimination. Such extensive documentation exists that it is hardly necessary to expound the point here. The objective reality of discrimination discourages Negro and Puerto Rican youngsters from adequately preparing themselves, as it does teachers from helping them to prepare and vocational counsellors from referring them to otherwise appropriate positions.

Already handicapped by restrictive practices based on color, "foreignness," language difficulty, and class mores, lower-class youngsters are also disadvantaged, along with their more affluent brethren, by their youth. Although there are, of course, objective limitations to the work ability of young people as a group, not all of them share these limitations. To some extent the adult definition of teen-agers as feckless, rash, unreliable, and reckless encourages them to enact the anticipated role. In the instance of youngsters adjudicated delinquent, this record is assumed to be prima facie evidence of undesirability, regardless of present behavior.

Thus there are three major objectives for Mobilization programs in the world of work:

1. To increase employment opportunities for lower-class youth.
2. To increase the visibility of existing job opportunities.
3. To increase the employability of lower-class adolescents.

Urban Youth Service Corps

As the central component of the Mobilization proposal relating to employment, a subsidized work program, the Urban Youth Service Corps, is recommended. The Corps will provide work experiences and training for youth between the ages of 16 and 21, focusing on projects which are of utility to the neighborhood and which also afford varied training opportunities. Youngsters will receive $1.00 per hour for up to 35 hours of work and training per week, with slightly higher wages for those promoted to leadership assignments within their crews.

The Corps is designed for all unemployed out-of-school youth, not solely for dropouts or delinquent youngsters. Less damaged youngsters also need job upgrading and may provide a steadying influence within some of the work crews. In addition, it is important to keep the Corps, as far as is possible, from being regarded as a repository for social incompetents. If the Corps is to be viewed as a legitimate training program, youngsters must be compensated, just as industrial trainees or apprentices are, and eligibility and participation must be so defined as to include the nondeviant. Otherwise enlistment will amount to status degradation.

Although the requirements of the assigned work tasks will be emphasized, subsidization will permit greater attention to be paid to the individual needs of the young people enrolled in the program. Even among disadvantaged groups, we have often failed to individualize problems. Although all dropouts, for example, have in common thwarted mobility as a result of school-leaving, children may leave school for a variety of reasons, and at different stages in their lives. A youngster who drops out at 16 for economic reasons, when he has completed the second year of high school, clearly needs different handling than a

16-year-old who drops out of junior high school because of a combination of intellectual, emotional, and economic handicaps.

Different projects will be developed to meet different objectives and career interests. In dealing with a large group of youngsters, we shall provide work experiences involving various skills, capacities, and interests. Opportunities will be provided for youth to sample a number of tasks, to test themselves in several work situations, and thus to indulge in some career experimentation. Within crews, there will be opportunities for more skilled youngsters to assume leadership positions. If a youngster shows exceptional ability or talent, he will be helped to develop it.

Assignments will include neighborhood conservation projects (e.g., the development of simply equipped, temporary children's playgrounds on vacant lots, tenement repairs, neighborhood beautification): Teen-Age Industries (e.g., manufacturing toys, refurbishing furniture for sale or distribution to low-income residents and institutions); office helpers workshop (providing services such as typing, mimeographing, mailing, etc.); and a program to act as aides in public and non-profit private institutions (housekeeping aide to Mobilization family services, nurse's aide, assistant to youth groups and recreation agencies, tutor). In addition, individual assignments as apprentices to small business or service organizations will be provided.

The Urban Service Corps, while of necessity limited to tasks to which a teen-ager can contribute at his level of training and capacity, is designed to encourage feelings of accomplishment in younger workers. It is expected that much of the work activity will be intrinsically gratifying and that additional gratifications will accrue from the experience of working with peers and from the training and recreational aspects of the program.

Although the program must be free of schoolishness, there is a need to educate the youngsters who participate. If a boy has trouble keeping his time card, understanding deductions on his pay check, or reading regulations or other printed material related to his job, these difficulties will be the impetus for remedial education. The use of skilled craftsmen as job supervisors not only will increase the credibility of the work setting but will make recommendations that a youngster improve his reading and arithmetic proficiency seem practical -- as, indeed, they are -- rather than "academic." Social workers and vocational-guidance personnel will be used as guidance and work-experience counselors. They will help youngsters to make full use of the subsidized employment and will focus on personal problems as they impinge on job performance. If counseling is offered, we believe that it will be more readily accepted in this setting, for it will be related to the "normal" activity of work rather than to maladjustment.[11]

In addition, a wide variety of training experiences will be provided and related to the youngster's occupational outlook. Those who are eager to work, fairly amenable to supervision, and relatively literate already have the nucleus of a suitable work personality. A year's experience in the Corps should boost them to a more skilled level of the labor hierarchy or at least encourage them to return to high school, trade school, or enter an apprenticeship in order to become more mobile.

Other youngsters who enroll will be so deficient in the general skills of working that they will need to concentrate on the improvement of work habits during their year or two of Corps experience. Their assignments need not prepare them for specific careers. For example, those placed as recreational helpers or Park Department Assistants may not be able to make a career out of these jobs although they will probably eventually enter service "occupations." Youngsters without specific skills will no doubt seek work in these general employment categories, for "as our technology advances, more workers will be needed to provide the increasing services required as our standard of living goes up."[12]

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[11] Roland Baxt et al., "Specialized Vocational Service," Crime and Delinquency, Vol. 7, No. 7 (Jan. 1961), p. 63.

Misuse of the program by some youngsters will be a difficult problem to solve. No matter how poor a youngster's motivation to work, he will be attracted to the Corps because it offers him a going wage. Many youths will initially join because of the salary, thinking that they can make "a fast buck" without exerting any energy. These youth, many of whom have internalized delinquent norms, are among those who must be reached. It would be missing the target to say that we shall try to weed them out, but quite appropriate to build certain sanctions into the program.

Boys will certainly not be asked to leave the Corps because of poor skills, mistakes, or even friction with other workers and their supervisor, since it is the intent of the program to help them to learn in a setting in which they need not fear being fired for immaturity and inexperience. However, youngsters will be informed from the outset of their enrollment that lack of effort will be punishable by expulsion from the Corps. Obviously this measure will be invoked sparingly.

We believe that youngsters will try to avoid expulsion from the

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12. U. S. Department of Labor, op. cit., p. 8.

Corps if only because of the salary. It will be our none-too-simple task to make them workers -- in some cases, in spite of themselves. Exposing them to the normative influence of a work group will be a major means of increasing their involvement in the work task. Without the Corps some of the youngsters would not be hired in the first place or would prove unsatisfactory before they could become part of a work group. Yet at least one expert has pointed out the salutory effects of a work group on delinquent youngsters. Haskell[13] observed that most of the clients at Berkshire Farm for Boys, a residential treatment school for adolescents, came from families whose norms coincided with those of the larger society. It is his belief that the family's normative influence may be strengthened if youngsters have a satisfying experience in a group at work or school. The youth's prestige in the family will also be increased by the work group, since it enables him to become self-supporting, socially competent, and therefore a contributor to, rather than a drain on, the meager family resources.

Particularly on initial assignments, the Corps will provide youngsters with the experience of working in crews. Special efforts will be made to develop cohesive groups in order to encourage cooperative work. A social group-work consultant will aid crew leaders in this task. Leadership positions with higher wages will also be a means of stimulating the youngsters to work harder. Less motivated youngsters will be supervised by trained social workers.

Even if the youngster is not significantly upgraded in work or personality skills, he will be more employable after a year in the Corps. Sixteen and 17-year-olds in particular, for whom employment is hard to find, often tend to develop defeatist and self-defeating patterns -- if not actually delinquent ones -- during this difficult period of transition from adolescence to adulthood. The youngster who enrolls in the Corps at 16 or 17 will spend a year in productive, satisfying work rather than floundering. He will have had one year less of isolation from the community.

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[13] Martin Haskell, "A Theory of Juvenile Delinquency," Social Problems, Vol. 8, No. 3 (Winter 1960-61), pp. 220-30.

Exploratory Work Course

An objective of the Exploratory Work Course is to provide youngsters and their parents with information about the work tasks and training requisites of many occupations, in order to make purposive career planning possible and to stimulate the academic achievement vital to success in a career. A further aim of the course is to transmit a sense of the value and interdependence of all work, as well as the personal satisfaction provided by different types of occupation. Because of their minority-group status, many of the prospective students must be apprised of and equipped for coping with discriminatory barriers, as well as made aware of special opportunities, such as scholarships and training programs.

Although material relevant to these purposes should be diffused throughout the grade-school curriculum, more direct and specific treatment is needed in the seventh and eighth grades, prior to the vocational decision implicit in the choice of a high-school curriculum. The course, of two semesters' duration, will include work-sampling through trips to work settings and classroom visits from local persons (particularly minority-group members) who have succeeded in various occupations. These trips and visits will be used as springboards for discussion about the training prerequisites, rewards (beginning salaries and expected lifetime income), employment opportunities, and personal satisfactions of each occupation. Special attention will be devoted to the role of trade unions and such organizations as SCAD and the NAACP in upgrading workers and exposing discriminatory practices. The course will be conducted by qualified guidance teachers, but staff members of the Youth Jobs Center (see below) will serve in an advisory capacity on such subjects as job-finding, occupational outlook, and training resources. Conferences with youngsters will be held throughout the year, as well as several parent meetings designed to encourage parental participation in realistic planning with their children.

Youth Jobs Center

The Youth Jobs Center, a central employment agency, will be invested with major responsibility for publicizing the work-experience, training, and educational programs offered in the community and the city. The Center will, in addition, make available to teachers of Exploratory Work Courses, Urban Youth Service Corps workers, and other community personnel information on occupational outlook and future trends, so that training programs can be closely related to future opportunities. Material on apprenticeship training, the Civil Service, and like programs, including preparation required, how to apply, whom to see, will be circulated. A major function of the Youth Jobs Center will be to coordinate the work of school guidance personnel, the staffs of work-experience programs, settlement workers, and counselors of the Youth Employment Service of New York State. In its counseling and job-placement programs, the Youth Jobs Center will make special efforts to include the hard-to-place and hard-to-reach youngster.

Provision has been made to house guidance and counseling services, training services (collecting information on training opportunities as well as conducting exploration tours to various work settings and developing short-term skills courses), job promotion, and publicity within the

Youth Jobs Center. Having all these employment functions in one location should prevent both duplication of effort and the loss of youngsters in the referral process. It is hoped that placement to private industry will be performed by New York State Youth Employment Service counselors on assignment to the Jobs Center. Referral to the Urban Youth Service Corps will also be available at the Center. Work permits issued by Board of Education personnel will be provided at the Youth Jobs Center. Thus a battery of services will be available at one location to all youth in the area contemplating work.

A bulletin will be published for community workers, and local mass media will also be used to disseminate job information. Job-information desks will be located at the Mobilization Neighborhood Services Centers (see below), at local settlements, and within the housing projects. Employment counseling on a "reaching out" basis will be offered by the Youth Jobs Center in the natural setting of the youngsters -- for example, on the streets through contact with detached workers.

Other Programs to Overcome Occupational Barriers

It is hoped that the foregoing work programs, plus the educational programs of Mobilization, will help to overcome the barriers facing "the slum child in the slum school." To the extent that they are successful, jobs will become more accessible to lower-class youngsters.

The Mobilization program also seeks to make jobs more accessible to young people in the area by attempting to remove arbitrary or discriminatory barriers based upon race, ethnicity, or age. This will require (1) identifying the groups within the community which are engaged in restrictive practices; (2) publicizing their activities; and (3) persuading them or putting pressure on them to change. Mobilizing public action or stimulating private efforts in these directions will be largely the task of local community agencies and indigenous social organizations. Adolescents may also play a part. Local and city leaders with sufficient influence to effect change, many of whom serve within Mobilization or LENA councils, will also be called upon.

Both New York City and New York State support agencies charged with the prevention of discriminatory employment practices. Both appeal to community groups to make evidence of such practices available, since they are not permitted to take preventive action on their own initiative. One function of the Youth Jobs Center, therefore, will be to work closely with those agencies, providing the "grist-for-the-mill" which they may require, as well as directly exerting effort to effect changes in criteria regarding youngsters accepted for employment and training.

To some extent, job accessibility will also be increased by the conscious effort of staff to provide in the Youth Jobs Center a link between the youngster and work-training opportunities. Like the gang worker who mediates between his group members and community institutions, the vocational worker will play this mediating role for youngsters in the job arena.

Training Vocational Personnel

Varied training opportunities, including in-service training and fellowship assistance, will be offered to vocational personnel. A four-week, five-days-a-week program is proposed as an initial course to orient professional workers to the Mobilization project and area as well as to provide a review of the counseling process. Crew leaders and work foremen in the Corps will participate in some sessions and will attend additional classes to prepare for their special function in the Corps. For purposes of staff development and recruitment, graduate fellowships on both the master's and the doctoral level will be provided. These graduate studies will focus particularly on the vocational upgrading of underprivileged minorities.

The World of Education*

Education is the principal means by which young people achieve occupational mobility. Their fortunes in the world of work thus depend in large part on the adequacy of the educational experiences made available to them. The lower-class child, we need hardly point out, is severely handicapped in this respect.

The educational problems of lower-class youth are not by any means the responsibility of the school alone. In the lower-class family, the need to concentrate upon bare economic survival severely limits the amount of attention parents can allocate to the "non-essential" activity of stimulating their children's intellectual growth or planning their educational future. Further, the crowding, lack of privacy, and disorder characteristic of family life in many slums are poor preparation for the quiet, orderly classroom. Differentials by social class in this respect have been described by the Institute for Developmental Studies: "The lower-class home seems to be characterized by a lot of background noise and very little sustained verbal communication, while the middle-class environment seems to be almost the reverse.[14] Thus, the lower-class child entering school is ill-prepared for the classroom setting in which he is continually called upon to speak or be spoken to. With less demand made upon him in the home, the lower-class youngster has less need to develop a sustained attention span or a high degree of articulateness; since thought processes are dependent upon the use of language, the result is underdevelopment of abstract thinking processes.

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*This section relates to public school programs. Reference to the religious schools in the area is made in Chapter I, in the section entitled "Resources of the Local Churches."

[14] Institute for Developmental Studies, Descriptive Statement, New York: New York Medical College, 1960, p. 2.

Intellectual stimulation in the form of books, recordings, trips, and the like is lacking in the lower-class home, for purely economic reasons if not for others as well. The youngster who has seen his parents read books, as have most middle-class children, enters school identified with people who are literate. His lower-class counterpart is less often exposed to experiences that whet his intellectual curiosity.

The lower-class child is also handicapped educationally by the inexperience of his parents, which limits their ability to prepare their youngster for school success; for example, they lack the knowledge as well as the time to help with homework. Shyness and suspicion further inhibit the lower-class parent from demonstrating his interest by visiting the school, discussing his child's progress, and, when necessary, intervening in the child's behalf. The child, therefore, receives little support in his attempt to bridge these two adult worlds.

In view of their cultural deprivation, lower-class children require special attention in school. If they receive short shrift, their handicaps are multiplied.

The principle of equality of opportunity in American education has been taken to mean not only that all children have the right to a public-school education but also that individual differences in learning must be taken into account. In our view, equality of opportunity implies, further, that cultural and economic (i.e., class) differences among children need to be similarly considered. Unless the school can gear its program to the class and ethnic background of the child, unless it attempts to reverse the educational handicaps originating in economic deprivation, equality of opportunity is more than half fiction.

It has been posited that 95 percent of school teachers in the United States are middle class in orientation.[15] As a group they were born into the lower-middle class and acquired full middle-class status through professional education.[16] It is conceivable that some of such upwardly mobile persons may regard youngsters who do not already exhibit middle-class attributes as lacking in ambition or intelligence. Regardless of the training pupils have received at home, teachers expect them to be polite, neat, clean, and well behaved. The result of this attitude may be misunderstanding and resentment, which further isolates the youngster from broadening adult influences.

A study of two schools in a deprived area of New York City indicates that "for the most part, the teachers felt alien to the community within which they worked, and with one or two exceptions, they themselves lived in other neighborhoods."[17] The teachers, however, blamed the school administrators, charging that they "had no appreciation of the special problems existing in the education of the lower-class, and most specifically the Negro and Puerto Rican child," and "were always imposing an educational orientation which was exclusively developed for a middle-class population who have very different preparations for learning."[18]

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[15] Allison Davis, "What Are Some of the Basic Issues in the Relation of Intelligence Tests to Cultural Background?" in Kenneth Eells et al., Intelligence and Cultural Differences, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951, p. 26.

[16] Super, op. cit., p. 108. See also Robert J. Havighurst and Bernice Neugarten, Society and Education, Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1957, p. 265.

[17] Martin P. Deutsch, Minority-group and Class Status as Related to Social and Personality Factors in Scholastic Achievement, New York: Society for Applied Anthropology, Monograph Number 2, 1960, p. 25.

[18] Ibid.

Whoever is responsible, the school system is essentially an extension of the values found in the average middle-class home. Thus it is strange territory for the lower-class youngster.

The typical school curriculum is middle-class oriented. While Lower East Side teachers and administrators struggle to relate content to the experiences of deprived city youngsters, often with creative results, they find little support for this undertaking in the texts and materials with which they are supplied.

The New York State Department of Education requires that seventh-graders take a course in the history of the state, and thus youngsters from hot city pavements learn of Henry Hudson's trip down the cool river. However, the history of Negro and Puerto Rican people, or even of lower-class heroes, is not generally integrated throughout the curriculum; nor is there significant encouragement for the study of the social problems generated by urban slums. A study of one lower-class school in New York City charges that Negro children strongly question their own competencies because the larger society expects inferior performance from them; yet "the middle-class orientation of the school helps little in recognizing the realities of the problem, and contributes little toward the development of value systems and activities directed toward breaking this circular dynamic process."[19]

The need for special courses geared to the development of work habits and skills and an understanding of the occupational structure and the problems of workers has been emphasized by Dr. James B. Conant: "What goes on in the school ought to be conditioned in large measure by the nature of the families being served, the vocational plans and

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19. Ibid., p. 11.

aspirations of the student, and employment opportunities."[20] In many cities, for example, vocational schools have become to a large extent segregated institutions, populated chiefly by minority-group members. Minority action groups have therefore opposed work-experience programs, on the ground that they will tend to restrict the aspirations, job opportunities, and training of minority-group members to manual occupations.

Teachers and supervisory personnel are needed who can feel and transmit a sense of appreciation of all peoples, whatever their occupation, ethnic background, class status; who are sensitive to the mutual fears and suspicions that often exist between the teacher and the lower-class child or parent; who can make a realistic appraisal of the "life chances" of youngsters who live in slum communities. For teachers and supervisory personnel to exhibit such responsiveness requires support from top administrative personnel. There is precedent for this within the New York City system, as attested by Higher Horizons and other related projects. The interest of Lower East Side and city-wide school officials in the Mobilization for Youth project confirms the availability of that support.

Because of the difficulty of teaching lower-class children, and the lack of adequate compensation, many teachers become eager to leave the slum school. A study of the career patterns of Chicago public-school teachers documents the fact that teachers normally begin their careers in lower-class neighborhoods, where there are more vacancies, and transfer out as soon as they can.[21] Thus teachers in slum schools are generally less experienced.

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20. James B. Conant, "Social Dynamite in Our Large Cities," Speech before the Conference on Unemployed, Out-of-School Youth in Urban Areas, Washington, D. C., May 24, 1961, p. 9.

21. Howard Becker, "The Career of the Chicago Public School Teacher," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 57, No. 5 (Mar. 1952), pp. 423-26.

The effect of this situation is especially unfortunate when one considers the characteristic instability of a slum, not to mention the economic uncertainties of slum youngsters' lives and the frequent changes in the composition of their family. It is important that the school, as represented by its teachers, be a constant, stable, omnipresent force in the community.

Because of the greater control problem posed by lower-class pupils and the greater turnover of teachers in slum schools, lower-class youngsters receive less actual instructional time than do school children in middle-class neighborhoods. Indeed, one study of a deprived-area school indicated that as much as 80 percent of the school day was devoted to discipline or organizational detail; even with the best teachers this figure never fell below 50 percent.[22] While these figures may be high, or unique to the particular school which was studied, problems in discipline and teacher turnover must inevitably limit instruction time in lower-class schools. In such instances, the role and self-image of the teacher may be transformed from that of instructor to that of monitor.

The generic problems of the school system -- oversized classes, split shifts, inadequate staffing, the dearth of specialized services, etc. -- are especially problematic for lower-class youngsters. For example, while an accepted New York State standard is 300 pupils to one guidance counselor in junior and senior high schools, ratios in New York City are 641 to one in the high schools, and 1710 to one in junior high schools.[23] Still larger guidance loads are typical of elementary schools, and many such schools have no guidance person at all. In vocational high schools, which as a rule serve children from deprived backgrounds, counselors are assigned as many as 1,000 pupils each.[24] Other specialties are similarly understaffed.

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[22] Deutsch, op. cit., p. 23.

[23] Rose Shapiro, Report of the Mayor's Conference on Labor, Industry, and Employment, New York: New York City Youth Board, 1961, pp. 25-26.

The educational problems of lower-class youth require closer integration of the school, the home, and the local community. Local people should be involved in decision-making regarding school matters in order to increase their understanding and awareness of school problems and to make the school more sensitive to their needs. Parent-school programs should be developed which explore every means of establishing meaningful contact. Those for parents of junior-high-school students are especially important, for children of this age are at the crossroads between legitimate and illegitimate ways, between purposive career planning and the anticipation of failure. The programs must take account of the fear and suspicion with which many lower-income parents regard the school, formal education, and school-related organizations. The school must provide parent education, not only within its doors, but in other facilities somewhat less intimidating to lower-class parents. To the extent that they succeed in upgrading the value of education among lower-class adults, programs which foster their education, participation, and decision-making increase the potential of parents as learning models.

Special programs must be developed to overcome the economic and cultural deprivations of lower-income children and additional aids provided to teachers so that they can devote more instructional time to these children, whose need is the greatest. Efforts must be made to recruit new teachers for deprived-neighborhood schools and to reduce the turnover of teachers assigned to such schools. The supply of specialized personnel must be increased and a curriculum developed that is closely related to the unique abilities, interests, and experiences of those whom it is designed to serve. The curriculum ought to provide opportunities for the use of manual, mechanical, and artistic skills, so that linguistic ability will not be the sole criterion of success. It ought to draw on readers and other materials with content more relevant to the experience of lower-class youngsters than the traditional "Dick and Jane." It should eliminate textbooks with subtle derogatory references to minority groups; finally, it should highlight the culture and contribution of Negroes, Puerto Ricans, and working people.

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[24] *Ibid.*, p. 26.

The Mobilization programs in the "world of education" are designed to meet all these needs. To maximize the access of lower-class youth to the means of attaining legitimate aspirations, the action task encompasses three major objectives: increasing the school's responsiveness to lower-class life-styles, improving the potential of parents as learning models, and enriching the learning environment.

Many of the school programs described below are interrelated. For purposes of convenience only, they are grouped under five major headings: (1) teacher training; (2) curriculum improvement, including reading-enrichment programs; (3) parent-school relations; (4) other preschool and elementary-school programs; and (5) other guidance and personnel services.

Teacher Training

School-Community Relations course: Teachers in six elementary schools will be asked to participate in an intensive in-service training course which will include visiting the homes of pupils. A team consisting of three qualified instructors -- a professional educator, a sociologist, and a social worker -- and the District Coordinator of In-Service Education will develop course material, arrange for the participation of resource persons from specialized areas, and stimulate teachers' enrollment in the course. A social worker will be available to accompany teachers on their home visits, as requested.

The content of the course will be shaped by the home visits. Therefore it can be expected to include such topics as understanding lower-class life-styles, learning needs, and disciplinary problems; community-school relations; and interviewing techniques. Semi-monthly after-school sessions, one or two hours in length, will be held throughout the school year, to be preceded by a series of more frequent workshops. In all, more than 30 semester hours will be required. Groups will consist of 15 to 25 teachers.

A stipend of $300.00 will be paid to each teacher who elects the course for the additional services being rendered -- home visiting and record keeping. (The precedent of compensating for in-service training has been set in recent years by such programs as that of the National Science Foundation.) In addition, in-service-training, "alertness," or college credit will be offered. These credits will bring salary increases for most teachers.

By making the teacher more aware of her pupils' environment, the School-Community Relations Course will help her to understand the effect of the home upon school performance and thus enable her to shape the intellectual and social milieu of the classroom to the children's learning needs. The visits will also help to overcome the suspicion and fear of the lower-class parent toward the school.[3] The respect with which the teacher is greeted by the families of her pupils and, more basically, her greater effectiveness as a teacher will improve her self-image as a teacher and increase her self-esteem. The result, it is hoped, will be a strengthened relationship between teachers and lower-class parents and a reduced rate of teacher turnover.

Laboratory School: One elementary school and one junior high school in the area will be designed Laboratory Schools for metropolitan teachers' colleges. At these schools, student teachers will have opportunities to observe, teach, study, and learn at first hand the methods of instructing culturally deprived youngsters.

A Laboratory School Coordinator at each school will act as liaison between the school and the colleges and will have responsibility for preparing a seminar-subpracticum with the help of cooperating teachers, college staff, and outside resource persons, including sociologists and social workers. Suggested topics for the seminar are: the role of the school in a slum neighborhood, teaching problems presented by class differences in life style, methods of teaching intellectually impoverished youngsters, and community-school relationships. Emphasis will be placed on developing and testing new techniques for teaching lower-class minority-group children.

Student teachers, directly supervised by participating Lab School teachers, will work in the classroom as teachers' aides, individual tutors, and small-group instructors. For example, a student teacher might attempt to teach the process of problem-solving to a group of pupils having unusual difficulties in learning to study.

The objectives of the Laboratory Schools are to recruit competent, well-trained teachers for the Mobilization area; to raise the status of teachers in underprivileged neighborhoods; and to provide additional, individualized instruction to youngsters in the two participating schools. By giving young teachers a sense of the challenge of teaching low-income youngsters, the program will take a step toward overcoming their tendency to regard the slum school as merely an unpleasant preliminary to employment in a suburban or middle-income school. It is also assumed that teachers in the Lab Schools will find the seminars stimulating and helpful for their own teaching.

Training for improved language-arts instruction: Three other in-service courses carrying graduate college credit will be offered on an extension basis. One will be a seminar or workshop on methods of improving verbal and cognitive skills in culturally deprived youngsters. Another will deal with the early identification and correction of reading difficulties, including the detection of visual and auditory handicaps. A third, for elementary-school teachers of non-English-speaking pupils, will focus specifically on the techniques of language instruction.

Curriculum Improvement

Although it may be unrealistic to expect appreciable change in curricula, there are, nevertheless, positive indicators that change will take place. New York City educators do not regard the curriculum as static. The Bureau of Curriculum Research of New York City's Board of Education is constantly exploring current materials in the hope of improving the curriculum and is currently supporting studies of the curriculum in certain lower-class schools, as well as cooperating with outside groups which have similar interests.

Curriculum Planning Committee and Curriculum Materials Center: A Curriculum Planning Committee will be established for the purpose of initiating, stimulating, and coordinating the planning, production, and testing of educational materials and proposals. Because classroom teachers have the most immediate contact with youngsters, they are in the best position to develop curricula responsive to lower-class culture. In addition, attendance at the School-Community Relations course (a requirement for Committee members, once the in-service training programs are initiated) will help to prepare them. An Advisory Committee of specialists will counsel the Committee, and a local educator will serve as chairman.

The Committee will be expected to review and evaluate new materials gathered by the Reading Centers (see below) and to develop course content, readers, and other instructional devices appropriate to the concerns of lower-class youngsters -- for example, minority-group rights, the occupational structure, the contributions of minority-group cultures, and the problems of slum dwellers and recent migrants.

A Curriculum Materials Center will facilitate, display, and publicize the Committee's work and make available to teachers the materials which have been prepared by other groups wrestling with the problem of lower-class learning needs. The Center will be a clearing house for reports, instructional devices, and visual aids. Teachers in the area will be able to examine and borrow materials. The Center will also publish a bulletin for all Mobilization-area teachers, containing information about the facilities of the Center and the suggestions of the Committee. Another important task of the Center will be to adapt for culturally retarded youngsters and to distribute to area teachers programmed instructional materials which provide auto-instruction in reading, spelling, arithmetic, and other basic skills.

The major purpose of this program is to develop and implement curricular changes which reflect and enhance the life experience of lower-class urban youth. By introducing appropriate auto-instructional aids, it will provide these youngsters with a substitute for vitally needed individual help. Recognizing the experienced classroom teacher as an important resource for curricular adaptation will enhance her status and rewards.

Curriculum Coordinators, in effect master-teachers, curriculum consultants, and supervisors, will ensure maximal use by classroom teachers of the Committee and the Center as well as of Special Services and subject specialists. Appointed for twelve of the elementary schools in the Mobilization area, the Coordinators will provide supervisory assistance to teachers by observing in the classroom, holding conferences with teachers, and helping them to locate new curriculum materials, particularly those developed by the Committee.

Reading Centers: Reading Centers will be established in each of the elementary schools in the area. They will be equipped with a variety of materials, including teaching machines for the cultivation of reading techniques, vocabulary and background skills, independent and personal reading, and a widening appreciation of reading materials. Of course, the new materials developed or approved by the Curriculum Planning Committee will be available in the Centers.

Reading Clinics: The establishment of clinics providing diagnostic and remedial reading services is proposed for two elementary schools. Diagnosis of reading difficulties from several perspectives (physical, social, psychological) will be followed by group instruction. Each group of five children will meet for 80 minutes twice a week.

Universities in the metropolitan area which already maintain reading clinics will be asked to provide a supervisory staff and remedial clinician trainees on a contract basis. The elementary school will provide a skilled supervisory director and the clinic space.

In addition to the basic goal of improving youngsters' reading skills, the program will have the peripheral benefit of recruiting remedial clinician trainees for local area schools, since graduates tend to return for jobs in schools where they have had successful supervised student-teaching experience.

Parent-School Relations

Parent-Education Coordination: A corps of Parent-Education Coordinators, who are local residents, identifiable with minority groups and familiar with neighborhood ways, will develop educational and school-community programs for parents of junior-high-school youngsters. Semi-professional staff, at the level of New York's Substitute Auxiliary Teacher, they will be required to participate in pre-service and on-going training during their first year of work. Under the direction of the District Community Coordinator and selected resource persons from the Mobilization area, orientation workshops will cover the techniques of interviewing and making referrals, neighborhood resources, home conditions conducive to school achievement, the structure and curriculum of the junior high school, and the like. During the first year of service, weekly meetings will be held to discuss experiences and problems. Thereafter monthly sessions will suffice.

The Coordinators will visit parents at home to discuss home, school, and community problems; encourage parent-teacher interaction; suggest appropriate referrals; work to correct deleterious home conditions; stimulate enrollment in adult-education courses; and organize informal discussion groups devoted to matters of common interest such as home management, public-school objectives and policies, vocational preparation, and community rights, responsibilities, and resources.

The informal, fluid structure of this program and its attention to practical problems often neglected by traditional adult-education courses should make it attractive to lower-income parents. If they can be involved, these parents will be better able to guide their children through the difficult junior-high years. With an understanding of goals of the school, parents should be able to support their youngsters' academic achievement and initial vocational choices. The Coordinators' efforts to improve general home conditions will also increase the adequacy of parents as role-models.

Other Preschool and Elementary-School Programs

Early-childhood and enrichment project: Experimental classes for four-year-olds, five-year-olds, and first-graders will be established to promote school readiness among intellectually retarded low-income children. The programs will be geared especially to alleviating the verbal and cognitive deficiencies that underlie retardation in basic school skills. In addition to preparing youngsters to learn the "three r's," the program will encourage a positive response to the "broader aspect of the function of the school," including "instilling of a respect for knowledge" and "equipping a child to live in his own society as a responsible citizen."[25] Four classes for four-year-olds will have a maximum enrollment of 15; 20 kindergartens for five-year-olds and 20 first-grade classes will have about 25 children each.

In addition to the usual early educational activities, provision will be made for many experiences designed to broaden cultural horizons, increase verbal and cognitive skills, and develop socialization suitable for the classroom. Lower-class youngsters will profit from concentrated exposure to trips, painting, music, rhythmic activities, and dramatic play. The curriculum will emphasize the development of auditory and visual perception and discrimination, motor coordination, concept formation, and meaningful use of language based upon broader experience and understanding. The increased independence the child derives from the early school experience may also improve his motivation for academic attainment. This program will attempt to give deprived youngsters some of the advantages favorable to school success that more privileged children receive at home.

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[25] Institute for Developmental Studies, op. cit., p. 1.

Teachers trained in Early Childhood Education will be assigned to the experimental classes after in-service training. The in-service course will stress problems of children from lower-class homes and effective means of reversing their handicaps. The work of the Institute for Developmental Studies (which has pinpointed specific intellectual handicaps of lower-class, particularly minority-group, children and has proposed creative ways of countering their retardation) is suggestive of what is required.

Another important feature of the program will be workshops to familiarize parents with the goals of the program and to suggest ways of supplementing class experiences. Emphasis will also be given to medical care and nutrition. The program will recognize that a basic requirement for such an approach to the prevention of school failure is to gain parental support for academic achievement early in the children's school careers.

Ungraded primary: Two elementary schools will experiment with ungraded primary instruction, in which the kindergarten or first through third years are treated as a unit, with grade lines eliminated. "Promotion" into the fourth grade is based on achievement and personal development -- emotional, social, and physical -- rather than on time spent or on chronological age. The child may spend as few as two and as many as four years in the primary unit, progressing at his own rate without promotion or retardation. It seems preferable, though not necessary, for a single teacher to remain with the group for the entire unit, to give the educational experience greater stability. Groupings within the unit will be based upon the achievement and maturation patterns of the individual child.

The ungraded primary unit will help to ensure continuous progress by reducing the threat of failure which tends to lead to further retardation for the youngster who gets off to a slow start in school. For three years, more or less, the child will be working at a pace commensurate with his abilities. The ungraded primary will offer culturally deprived youngsters a chance to make up their handicaps at their own rate without stigma.

Homework-helper program: High-school sophomores and juniors from low-income families in the Mobilization area will be hired for after-school employment as tutors to elementary-school pupils. The prospective tutors, who must be in the upper 25 percent of their academic classes, will be given pre-service training in eight sessions conducted by reading, arithmetic, and language-arts specialists, with the assistance of guidance personnel. Semi-monthly sessions for the first semester and monthly sessions for the second semester will also be arranged. Each tutor will be assigned to a specialist teacher for individual consultations as required. In addition, specialists will be hired to train high-school students not yet ready to assume tutorial functions. Three-hundred high-school students will participate in the program. Each tutor will be assigned three or four elementary-school pupils and will meet each pupil twice a week for 60-minute sessions. The tutors will be paid the minimum New York State wage of $1.25 per hour.

The program will benefit both high-school and elementary-school children. Participation in the tutoring program will serve as a recognition and concrete reward for students who do well in high school and will also relieve the financial pressures which encourage early school leaving. The tutoring experience will ultimately touch upon material relevant to the career interests of the high-school students and might motivate some ninth- and tenth-graders toward improved academic achievement. High-school students will be exposed to a teaching experience at an age still young enough for them to choose teaching as a career.

Tutoring services should improve basic learning skills of the elementary youngsters and help them to maintain expected grade levels. Although the young tutors may not become skilled in remediation, they should be able to provide needed individualized assistance for underachieving youngsters. Younger pupils should also benefit from interaction with older boys and girls who are from the same income, ethnic, and racial groups but who have done well in school and who find education a valuable institution. These high-school students will thus serve as models for elementary pupils and may increase their aspirations for school success.

Other Guidance and Personnel Services

Elementary and junior-high-school guidance: A full-time guidance counselor-coordinator will be appointed for each elementary school in the Mobilization area which does not currently have one. In addition to the usual guidance tasks, the counselors will participate in the in-service training of teachers and orientation of reading specialists. They will also help to guide the school's use of other Mobilization programs. Additional staff from The Bureau of Child Guidance will be added to the Mobilization area to supplement the currently limited clinical services.

Youngsters in junior high school have special guidance needs in view of the important career and curricular choices that they must make. Because the Mobilization program is interested in increasing vocational opportunities by making career routes more visible, we propose that an additional full-time guidance counselor be assigned to each junior high school in the area. Counselors will set up developmental group-guidance units, work closely with teachers in the Exploratory Work Courses, and draw upon the job-finding and counseling resources of the Youth Jobs Center. Individual parent-pupil-counselor conferences will be held at least once a year in order to involve parents in the planning process.

Attendance teachers: Attendance teachers are important members of the school guidance team, for they can provide fresh information and services rather than merely return truants to school. Since a truant may also be delinquency-prone, this function is especially important. If attendance teachers are to complement guidance resources, however, their caseloads must be reduced. Their present numbers should therefore be increased so that there will be one for each junior high school in the Mobilization area.

Small-groups program: This program is designed to provide special attention and individualized help for disturbed youngsters. Composed of six or seven children each, several groups will meet in two elementary and two junior high schools for one hour each morning in a room furnished with attractive materials and recreational equipment. A social group worker with clinical experience will be hired as the small-group "instructor." The room might also be made available during the day for emotionally upset children to "let off steam" when needed.

The group worker will be a mediating person who knows each child well and can interpret his behavior to the teacher or parent. In the small-group room, where there are only a few children and less need for decorum than in the classroom, the "instructor" will be relatively free of disciplinary chores and able to offer individual guidance and help. Besides these functions, he will consult with parents and with Neighborhood Services Center personnel to develop a plan to meet the child's special needs.

The small-group program assumes that the classroom behavior and school achievement of emotionally disturbed children can be improved as a result of group therapy. A significant additional benefit of the program will be to relieve classroom teachers of the most time-consuming pupils, so that instructional time can be expanded and classroom atmosphere improved.

The Community

What we have said thus far suggests that we must increase the willingness and ability of local residents to participate in the social and political life of their community. Participation by adults in decision-making about matters that affect their interests increases their sense of identification with the community and the larger social order. People who identify with their neighborhood and share common values are more likely to try to control juvenile misbehavior. A well-integrated community can provide learning experiences for adults which enable them to serve as more adequate models and interpreters of community life for the young. In short, there is an inverse relation between community integration and the rates of juvenile misbehavior.[26]

It appears, then, that participation in community-oriented organizations is highly desirable. However, it is not very common among the lower class. A considerable number of studies indicate that formal-group membership is closely related to income, status, and education; the lower one's income, status, and educational level, the less likely one is to participate in formal community groups.[27] It has been estimated, in fact, that 60 to 80 percent of the lower class does not belong to any formal organization. A study of "Income and Social Participation" found, "In every type of group without exception -- church, fraternal, service, recreational, patriotic, political, cultural -- membership on the part of lower-income classes was markedly lower."[28]

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[26] A study of two lower-class neighborhoods of similar socioeconomic levels found that in the more integrated neighborhood (in which persons knew their neighbors, perceived common interests, shared common viewpoints, and felt a part of the community), delinquency rates were markedly lower. Eleanor Maccoby *et al.*, "Community Integration and the Social Control of Delinquency," *Journal of Social Issues*, Vol. 14, No. 3 (1958), pp. 38-51.

Why are lower-class adults less likely to become closely involved in community affairs? There are, we think, four major reasons, or barriers to their participation.

The first barrier is residential mobility. Local communities, such as the Lower East Side, have been inundated by new migrants, some of them unfamiliar with the demands of urban life and consequently unable to provide their children with realistic expectations or adequate learning opportunities. Although public housing mitigates some of the problematic aspects of slum life, it is of necessity responsible for much residential mobility. The recruitment of single family units from widely dispersed parts of the metropolitan area collects in one place thousands of deprived families, strangers to one another and to local community resources. Physical-redevelopment programs and the consequent exodus of old residents have in many instances shattered existing institutions, so that they are unable to help in the assimilation of the new-

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27. Morris Axelrod, "Urban Structure and Social Participation," American Sociological Review, Vol. 21, No. 1 (Feb. 1956), pp. 13-18.
28. W. G. Mather, "Income and Social Participation," American Sociological Review, Vol. 6, No. 3 (June 1947), pp. 380-81.

comers into the urban system. For example, the diminishing vitality of some local political machines, with their attentive political leaders, eliminates an important interpretive link to the new world.

A recent empirical study of population mobility shows that organizations which are locally oriented -- i.e., neighborhood-based, serving a geographic subportion of the census tract -- are the hardest hit by residential instability. Member-oriented organizations, in which the members have particular social relationships with one another, also have much difficulty. (The YMCA is an example of both types.) "A typical successful adjustment to the impact of mobility is to shift from a local to a metropolitan orientation."[29] Reaching out to a metropolitan clientele enables the organization to survive, but it then becomes less accessible for use by the incoming migrant.

Movement into the community is not the only kind of residential mobility; there is also outward movement, which, in the case of the slum community, stems partly from a rise in socioeconomic status. The correlation between the two kinds of movement is often unnecessarily increased by housing regulations that deny continued occupancy to families whose income exceeds certain low levels. This forces people out and also deprives the housing community of its more able, achieving members.

Another barrier to the participation of lower-class adults in community affairs is the fact that most community activities are staffed by middle-class personnel. To the extent that lower-class persons feel that they are being dominated, they are likely to withdraw from collective activities. The predominance of the middle class in community organizations has many sources. When the community problems become so severe that people are motivated to act, it is generally the middle-class element (or, at lease, those who are oriented toward the middle class) that reacts first. Although lower-class persons may affiliate with the organization, its predominantly middle-class style soon becomes a subtle source of intimidation. Its leaders are likely to be businessmen, professionals, social-welfare personnel, ministers, and other members of the middle class. The formality of the organization -- meetings with predetermined agenda, concern with rules of procedure, and the like -- tends to make the lower-class participant, unfamiliar with these matters, feel insecure and inferior.

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[29] Peter Rossi, Why Families Move, Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1955, p. 58.

When middle-class organizations deliberately seek to attract lower-class members, obstacles to autonomy may nevertheless arise. For example, the organizers may insist on maintaining control of the activities and policies of the organization. This may have the consequence of encouraging the participation of lower-class persons whose values and skills are congenial with those of the middle-class organizer. Those whose values and skills differ, however, will gradually sense that such differences matter and that the organization exists to serve middle-class ends. They may therefore disassociate themselves.

It is also true that entrenched organizations are not eager to promote collective activities among groups not similarly entrenched. New groups in a community -- especially new minority groups -- are often confronted with hostility from established groups whose positions of power are threatened by the possibility of forceful action by the newcomers.

The problem of autonomy is exacerbated by the fact that lower-class people are constantly exposed to the bewildering operations of massive bureaucratic systems. An example is the system of formal controls characteristic of public housing. The managerial group wields great power, even in the most intimate spheres of the daily life of tenants. A sociologist writing of a Lower East Side project observed, "To the tenants, management was distant; it represented powerful disciplinary authority involving rules, constant checks on violations, and all the other formalities of the bureaucratic world."[30] The inherent impersonality of "Bigness," the potentiality of attack from anti-housing groups and the press, and the American ethos, which questions the dignity of accepting public aid, together result in the imposition of regulations far more stringent than the demands made upon tenants in private housing.

> The tenant may not paint his apartment; he may not have guests stay longer than three months; he may not walk on the project grass or ride bicycles on the project walks. He may not have pets, install air conditioners, or shake a mop out the window. ... While some of these rules are written in the "Tenants Handbook," others are the property, as it were, of the landlord, unavailable in printed form to the tenant. These public and private rules contain a final insult: the manager and his personnel may enter apartments at will ....
>
> The important thing about the regulations is that they make explicit what is ordinarily implicit in routine middle-class life .... Middle-class behavior is not something you can teach a Puerto Rican by imposing fines; fear of eviction does not take the place of socialization. Moreover, many of the American Negroes, ambitious and sensitive, deeply resent being dealt with as lower-class stereotypes. And those tenants who do not notice the middle-class assumptions of the rules also do not understand them.[31]

Self-defeating attitudes also interfere with community integration. Lower-income groups tend to view life more pessimistically, with less hope of deliverance, and, as a consequence, they tend to retreat from

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30. Michael Miller in Michael Harrington, "Slums, Old and New," Commentary, Vol. 30, No. 2 (Aug. 1960), p. 122.
31. Michael Miller and Carl Wertham, "Public Housing: Tenants and Troubles," Dissent, Vol. 8, No. 3 (Summer 1961), p. 285.

struggle. A Gallup poll conducted in 1959 indicates that a higher percentage of respondents in the under-$3,000 income group expect World War III and a new depression than any other grouping. As one observer notes, "Seeing his chances for improvement as slim produces in the slum-dweller a psychology of listlessness, of passivity, and acceptance, which ... reduces his chances still further."[32] Such defeatism, resulting in lack of participation, produces a loss of interest in changing their conditions.

Intergroup tensions are also a barrier to community integration. The vast mixture of peoples in the inner-city area (Negro, Puerto Rican, Jew, Chinese, Italian, among others, in the Lower East Side) is potentially a source of cultural riches and community strength. Racial and ethnic discrimination, however, reduces it to a source of community tension, which is aggravated by other differences -- i.e., the new *vs.* the old resident, the low- *vs.* the middle-income neighbor. When there is congruence in the difference -- as, for example, when the Negro is both new to the area and lower class -- tension is increased. Mutual community interests, the common problems of lower-class people, and the common concern for a better life for their children give way to suspicion, isolation, and ultimately teen-age violence.

Breaking down the barriers to community integration is conceived to be a central requirement of the Mobilization program: increasing the motivation and the ability of local residents to participate in the social and political life of their community is a major objective. The development of indigenous social organizations is emphasized in this proposal as a way of achieving this goal. Opportunity must be made available to increase the participants' knowledge of what the community (and city) offers and what it needs, as well as of effective action techniques. The dominance of middle-class styles (e.g., the formal nature of the usual community efforts) must be avoided and greater attention given to issues of interest to the lower class; a predominance of lower-class members must be ensured, and leaders actually representative of lower-income groups and influential in affecting their value systems must be identified and recruited. The sponsorship of the organizations must be carefully developed so as to guarantee maximum autonomy. In short, innovation and experimentation are sorely needed.

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[32] Harrington, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

Organizing the Unaffiliated

To stimulate the participation of lower-class persons in attempts to resolve community problems is a primary objective of this program. Such existent groups as "home town" clubs and storefront churches, which are ordinarily unreached in traditional community-organization efforts, will be invited to join in discussions about community attitudes and actions. They will then be encouraged to plan collaborative programs of a cultural, recreational, social, or social-action nature. New group structures will be organized. Thus, a League of Storefront Churches might be created, an Association of Tenant Councils, a Council of Puerto-Rican Social Clubs, or an area-wide council, depending upon the interests of the participants. It is anticipated that ultimately some of the groups may wish to affiliate with the Lower East Side Neighborhoods Association (LENA), the local community council. Representative leaders of the local groups will decide upon the forms of organization and the internal government of these larger structures.

Among the emphases of this program may be the following: (1) increasing the ability of local residents to participate in and influence the social and political life of their community; (2) dramatizing community needs and mobilizing public action to deal with those needs; (3) increasing institutional responsiveness to lower-class needs by improving communication between disadvantaged people and appropriate community institutions; and (4) improving the competence of local leaders to deal with grievances and to defend their constituents' rights and privileges. Specific goals, values, and issues cannot be predetermined but must emerge from the interaction of the participants. Indeed, an important assumption of the program is that the successful involvement of lower-income persons requires that they be allowed greater freedom of action than is usually permitted lower-class participants in community-wide activities.

Most efforts to organize lower-class people attract individuals on their way up the social-class ladder. Persons who are relatively responsible about participation, articulate, and successful at managing organizational "forms" are identified as lower-class leaders, rather than individuals who actually reflect the values of lower-class groups. Ordinarily the slum's network of informal group associations is not reached.

This project proposes to remedy this situation by means of a "Starter Program," through which indigenous community organizers will be recruited and trained. Influential members of existent lower-class groups, identified by Mobilization through systematic research, will be invited to participate in a series of informal discussions of community problems. Varying strategies to induce attendance will be developed. For example, a contribution might be offered to groups for their cooperation. The basis for the discussions will be the findings of a Mobilization Survey of Voluntary Associations, in which the leaders' opinions on community social problems were solicited and their readiness for social action was assessed. For example, as a springboard for discussion, the leaders might be told of the survey findings that 85 percent of their fellow influentials rated juvenile delinquency as a pressing community problems, and that 75 percent said that their members would probably participate with other groups in a campaign to alleviate it. Analyses of the Survey will also offer clues to the informational gaps of particular groups. For example, preliminary examination of the data suggests that Puerto Rican storefront ministers are far less knowledgeable than presidents of block associations about the location of influence in specific community areas.

Since the Survey data also indicate which groups are most likely to engage in collaborative activity, they will be used as a source for grouping. Promising participants will be asked to take additional in-service training and become part-time paid organizers. The other participants will benefit from the fact that connections with other community leaders will have been established, their action skills expanded, and their community knowledge broadened. Groups represented by leaders in the "Starter Program" will be invited to initiate the organization of other groups, such as the League of Storefront Churches, etc.

It is hoped that the use of indigenous organizers will encourage lower-class residents to identify with the project and to perceive that these efforts represent their interests. In addition, it will avoid the problems in communication that sometimes arise between persons of different social strata. Leaders of existing lower-class groups will doubtless be more successful in engaging the interest and interpreting the aspirations of other residents. We recognize, however, that the employment of these leaders by the project may undermine their influence among group members. To the extent possible, therefore, indigenous leaders must be discouraged from attempting to remold themselves in the professional image.

Community-organization efforts are generally formal in nature, highly structured so as to accomplish tasks efficiently. We will aim, rather, to emphasize flexibility. A function of the indigenous community organizer, in addition to developing new adult groups and encouraging the participation of old ones, will be to maintain contact with the less active groups. Some groups may want to be involved only in social or cultural programs. Still others may be eager for social action on a number of issues and will concentrate on instrumental activities exclusively. Other groups may wish to be involved only in such undertakings as a large dance or a campaign -- for example, against slum landlords.

The organizer will try to maximize the learning potential of those who can be activated only on an ad hoc basis. Communication between indigenous groups and the organizer, whatever its form, is the desired outcome.

As the foregoing implies, we are not sanguine about the success potential of a program oriented toward community action. However, preliminary analysis of the Voluntary Associations Survey gives us reason to believe that these leaders and their groups are capable of more social action and interaction than their current programs would suggest. We have classified the groups according to their orientation along a continuum ranging from expressive to instrumental. That is, at one end are groups interested mainly in consummatory or inherently gratifying alternatives, such as socializing, cultist religious worship, and athletics. At the other extreme are those whose programs may entail a number of irksome tasks, such as recruiting membership, preparing reports, and planning strategy. Examples of the more expressive groups are clubs, fraternal associations, and storefront churches. Instrumental associations include unions, PTA's, and tenant associations. The expressive groups tend to have a present-time orientation, while the instrumental engage in efforts which make sense only if they are the means to a distant goal. However, even quite expressive groups indicate more concern about community problems and willingness to join with other groups in attempts to rectify them than their current programs and isolation would suggest.

Most community-organization efforts have an altruistic orientation. They offer the individual participant little beyond the psychic satisfaction of contributing to communal betterment. While this will, of course, be a prime feature of the Mobilization program, more immediate self-interest will not be deprecated. Three to six of the indigenous organizers will work with a professional community-organization person in four of the Mobilization-area neighborhoods. Based in the Neighborhood Services Centers (see below), the organizers will have access to the services offered by such Centers -- i.e., free legal advice, job referrals, and "contacts." They will thus be in a position to dispense requested services to individuals, as well as to provide help and advice to local groups.

The uniqueness of our approach to community action is in the encouragement of autonomy among low -class participants. There is, of course, a contradiction inherent in the proposal to establish lower-class community organizations under Mobilization sponsorship. Mobilization is responsible to a wide variety of groups. Issues with which lower-class organizations deal may threaten some of these groups, in which case pressure may be exerted to control the fledglings. Unless they are formed spontaneously under the impetus of an inflammatory issue, lower-class groups cannot be organized without the financing and support of such established (i.e., middle-class) organizations as Mobilization. The fact that Mobilization constitutes a new structure partially mitigates the problem of control. So, too, does the Mobilization intent to protect the organizations' independence from both outside pressure and Mobilization's own opinions about their mistakes. This is no real solution, however; it will be necessary for Mobilization to divest itself of responsibility for the project as soon as feasible. Encouraging the organizations to raise their own funds will be a step in that direction.

Regardless of the degree of its independence, there will be countervailing pressures upon this project, undoubtedly in relation to its success. Any group which is sufficiently strong to influence the social and political life of its community will eventually seek to preserve its own position once it has effected the changes it sought. The victory of a "reform" group makes that group part of the "establishment." After its goals have been achieved, the group develops a vested interest in the preservation of its status and thus becomes the "rascals" whom new reformers hope to supplant.

In view of the monumental task of organizing effective lower-class action groups, however, it is comforting to contemplate this problem of success.

Operation Assimilation

Our implicit model of the adequate inner-city community has emphasized characteristics of a community of final residence -- i.e., stable populations, institutions, and cultural norms. Such a community should, however, also provide resources for the orientation and assimilation of newcomers, particularly immigrants. The fact that barriers to work and learning opportunities typically face the children of migrant parents make it especially important that both the adults and the children achieve rapid cultural assimilation. To the extent that this can be achieved without excessive disruption, the newcomers will develop a sense of identification with the neighborhood and a perception of shared interests with neighbors.

A wide gamut of Mobilization programs will contribute to this purpose. Organizing the Unaffiliated, by developing new adult groups, will further the involvement of newcomers. In attempting to make institutions more responsive to lower-class style and needs, it will help the in-migrant, as well as other low-income adults, to obtain needed services. The organizer, who is connected to the individually oriented Neighborhood Service Centers, will be uniquely able to serve as an interpreter of the new world. Indeed, one of his functions might be to welcome in-migrants and to make them aware of community resources.

The broad-gauged "reaching-out" program for parents of junior-high-school students (Parent Education Coordinators, see above) will facilitate the newcomers' use of community resources. It is anticipated that elementary-school teachers who visit pupils' homes as part of the School-Community Relations course will also welcome the in-migrant and provide a source for referrals.

A major objective of the Mobilization Neighborhood Service Centers will be to facilitate absorption of newcomers into the community. To help the in-migrant cope with the complex organization of communal resources and the bureaucratization of many public and some private services, a Liaison Resources Unit will be located in the area, with representation from the Departments of Welfare, Buildings, Bureau of Attendance, Health, etc.[33] This unit will help newly arrived adults learn to make the most effective use of community resources and will also help these institutions to become more responsive to the needs of in-migrants.

Lower Eastside Neighborhoods Association

Thus far we have spoken of "community integration" from the standpoint of bringing lower-class residents into more effective and more congenial association with one another. We suggest that such efforts will enhance social control, provide constructive outlets for dissidence, and give people a greater stake in community life.

To eradicate the basic social ills of the community and develop a healthier climate requires, in addition, the total mobilization of the project area, including schools, public agencies, business concerns, religious organizations, unions, landlord and tenant organizations, civic, social, fraternal, youth,and political groups, social agencies, and any other organizations, groups, or individuals which have impact upon the life of the neighborhood. While the Organizing the Unaffiliated program emphasizes "reaching the unreached," we must not overlook the need to organize effectively those persons and institutions already predisposed to involvement in community matters.

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33. It is hoped that the Liaison Resources Unit will have some influence on the attitudes of personnel offering the services. As one study noted, "Close personal relations, such as the ability and willingness of the officer to identify with the group, to share their problems and their conditions of living, to provide friendliness, are characteristic of government personnel who seemed to facilitate adjustment to, and identification with, the new community." S. N. Eisenstadt, "The Process of Absorption of New Immigrants in Israel," Human Relations, Vol. 5, No. 3 (Aug. 1952), pp. 223-45, cited in Murray Ross, Community Organization, New York: Harper & Bros., 1955, p. 114.

The Lower Eastside Neighborhoods Association has already done much effective work in this direction. In order to demonstrate what else might be achieved in this important area of community organization, it is proposed to substantially strengthen the neighborhood councils and to establish a Program Development Unit.

Neighborhood Councils

Two Neighborhood Councils are currently functioning in the Mobilization area. Set up initially in response to some emergent local problem or need, such as a gang fight or a two-session school, they consist of local groups of individuals and institutions who have continued to show a community-task and problem-solving orientation. Together with the Youth Services Teams of LENA (professional workers whose primary purpose is planning the efficient use of neighborhood resources for dealing individually and in groups with young people who are in trouble), they provide a base for LENA's program of neighborhood and community-wide social action. Lending vocal and prestigeful support on a wide range of issues, they are a potentially potent resource for community betterment and control.

The Mobilization proposal suggests the strengthening of the existent Neighborhood Councils and the development of two others in the Mobilization area. This is to be accomplished by hiring a staff of four professional community organizers, each with responsibility for servicing a Neighborhood Council. Assistance from social-work graduate students, clerical, and other material aids also will be supplied.

Program-Development Unit

It is necessary also to conceive of community integration in terms of the prevailing pattern of relationships among various institutions in the area, industrial, commercial, religious, educational, and social welfare. Much of what happens to people in the conduct of their daily lives depends upon the level of coordination among these institutions. For example, within the social-welfare system itself (e.g., the settlement houses, recreation centers, social casework agencies, Department of Public Welfare), inadequate coordination and planning can greatly reduce the effective use of services by those for whom the services are designed. In the absence of appropriate planning, disparate agencies may variously serve the same sector of the community, with the result that other groups needing service may receive little or none. In an era of vast reorganization and rebuilding of urban areas -- with the extreme social dislocations attendant upon demolition and shifting of populations -- the need for institutional coordination is paramount. Such coordination can be effective only when representatives of the varied institutions of the community are brought together to exchange information and opinions about common problems, provided with the data and other materials relevant to planning, and serviced by a staff of experts to advise them on policies and strategies of change.

The Lower Eastside Neighborhoods Association has been carrying on these functions for some years, but its work must be strengthened. The beneficial effects of programs in work, school, remedial services, and the like will be vitiated if the major institutions of the area are not also organized in a fashion which maximizes the life chances of residents in the area. In this connection, LENA has recently completed a master plan for the area, known as "The LENA Plan for Urban Living." It contains an appraisal of existing needs in a variety of areas, including education, recreation, housing, and health. It also contains recommendations pertinent to long-range planning trends, especially in the critical area of demolition and rebuilding of slum areas.

One of the major handicaps under which LENA now functions is the absence of expert personnel to conduct studies in sufficient depth of community needs and the resources of existing institutions to meet these needs. There is no substitute for systematic data in any planning and coordination effort, but LENA is now unable to invest sufficient of its limited resources in studies through which such information could be secured.

We therefore propose to establish in LENA a "program-development unit" which would be charged with (1) the identification of significant community problems; (2) the systematic study of these problems through modern techniques of data gathering and analysis; (3) the development of recommendations for the solution of these problems; and (4) the presentation of recommendations to significant persons.

The studies to be undertaken -- authorized by the LENA Board of Directors -- would run the gamut of community problems, including studies of health needs, housing problems, physical resources, and recreational requirements. Reports would be prepared and disseminated by LENA to its constituents, its neighborhood councils, to the larger community, and to appropriate legislative and action bodies. Such reports could become an important springboard for informed social action by other organizations in the project area.

The program-development unit will consist of a study director and a research assistant with experience in both community activity and research. In addition, consultants will aid in developing program recommendations and disseminating information. Care would be taken in selecting personnel to ensure a high level of competence in survey research procedures and program-evaluation techniques.

Experimental Housing Programs

In a generation of experience with public housing, ramifications have become evident that were not initially anticipated. Large new projects have disrupted the existing social organization of slums by mass demolition and relocation. In the view of many observers, the slum community had provided some cohesion and control which is now being replaced by collectivities of disoriented and alienated individuals. Moreover, the recipients of public housing are seen as antagonized and oppressed by the regulations which govern their tenancy, and stigmatized by the clearly demarcated institutional character of the projects.[34] The resulting social disorganization and individual discontent, undesirable in themselves, also tend to vitiate the social benefits expected to follow from replacement of slums by decent and adequate housing, and to encourage patterns of behavior which eventually destroy the adequacy of the housing itself.

Since the Mobilization area is replete with public housing, it is proposed that new housing programs and policies be explored. The following proposals are only examples of possible innovations.

Pre-occupancy planning: Adults who participate in decision-making processes, we have noted, are more highly committed to the outcome of the decisions. Failure to take this fact into account may be one cause of the maintenance deficiencies with which public-housing projects are beset. The limited success of programs of housekeeping instruction may be due in part to the limited commitment of most tenants to the project. With greater investment on their part, maintenance standards might be more efficiently enforced. A pre-occupancy planning program might thus serve this purpose.

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[34] See, for example, Miller and Werthman, op. cit.

Tenant-management relations: Strains between tenants and management are probably inherent, stemming from differences in position and interests. It would seem desirable to clarify mutual obligations, however, and to formulate policies which approximate customary tenant-landlord relations.

Tenant placement: Tenants might be distributed within projects in such a way as to encourage the formation of groups which will amicably and constructively interact.[35] This might be done by locating tenants within projects according to a family's stage in the life cycle, presumed to be indicative of shared interests and activities. A most effective approach to the creation of community -- although often not possible -- is the relocation of tenants in community blocks. Long-term housing programs might be planned around this objective. Even in a limited area and in limited time, some effort could be made.

Facilities: The obvious condition for the interaction of people is proximity and confrontation. This might be encouraged by relatively simple devices to increase the attractiveness of places of social gathering.[36]

The consequences of developments in housing policy for social organization are necessarily uncertain. For this reason, a deliberately experimental program, exploring, evaluating, and innovating upon an array of alternatives, is appropriate. It is planned that such a program will be detailed in subsequent Mobilization proposals.

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35. See Herbert J. Gans, "Planning and Social Life," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, May 1961, pp. 134-40.
36. Proposals in this area might draw upon the suggestions of Elizabeth Wood in a recent report. Elizabeth Wood, Housing Design: A Social Theory, New York: Citizens' Housing and Planning Council of New York, 1961.

New Frontiers in Services

It is anticipated that during the operation of the project new needs for services will be revealed and new ideas for services developed. To ensure a degree of flexibility in developing new services and meeting new needs, it is imperative that funds be available.

It is recommended, therefore, that Mobilization for Youth establish a New Frontiers in Services unit to work with public and voluntary agencies and institutions in initiating demonstration projects which will emphasize the discovery of new knowledge and the development of new methods of practice in the field of delinquency prevention and control.

A Technical Advisory Committee will be established to work with this unit.

Specialized Services to Individuals and Families

One of our major guidelines to action entails intervention to arrest self-defeating modes of adaptation. The program of specialized services to individuals and families has been designed to achieve that end. Our proposal calls for the provision of social casework services of the highest quality to people who are enmeshed in self-defeating adaptations. It is an attempt to extend and expand the programs of personal service pioneered by local casework agencies and the settlements in the area.

There are a variety of reasons that a program to modify self-defeating adaptations among low-income people should be based upon social casework services. Principal among these is the fact that the field of social casework has, since its inception, directed attention to the relationship between people and their social environment. It has insisted that the origin of many social categories of human problems cannot simply be attributed to defects in the social environment or to defects in individual patterns of response to the social envionment; many of these problems must be understood as the product of both sets of influences. Accordingly, social casework has constructed a helping strategy that takes account of these interacting influences. It has emphasized that the helping relationship must consist of two analytically distinct but otherwise inseparable elements: the controlled use of worker-client interaction as a way of understanding and dealing with the client's pattern of response, and the controlled use of concrete social services as a way of reorganizing the client's social circumstances. Indeed, the fundamental contribution of social casework has been to demonstrate that the helping relationship achieves maximal effectiveness when it combines in a single process devices to remedy defects in both the patterns of response and the social circumstances of people. The uniqueness of social casework stems primarily from its success in generating a technology which blends these two elements.

The importance of approaching the problem of self-defeating adaptations among low-income people with such a strategy cannot be overemphasized. A breakdown in the relationship between people and their social environment may result from the absence of adequate environmental resources, from inadequate modes of responding to the environment, or, most commonly, from a combination of these two factors. To remedy defects in the social environment by providing concrete social services may be enough in some instances to produce a more adequate level of functioning; to remedy defects in the way in which people respond to and make use of their environment may be enough in other instances to produce better functioning. In some cases, however, low-income people will require assistance of both kinds.

The remedies for self-defeating responses which can be offered are as many and varied as are the roots of those responses. Some of these may be noted as follows:

First, some people may engage in self-defeating adaptations simply because they do not possess information about the possibility of behaving in an alternate way. There are services in the community, for example, about which many people know nothing. Furthermore, certain administrative arrangements prevent the development of a sense of community integrity and also thwart residents' efforts to understand and gain access to these services. Thus city departments which perform many basic services define widely variant boundaries. For example, the Department of Welfare unit which includes the project area also includes the rest of lower Manhattan; two school districts serve the project area and include other areas as well. A service that simply provides people with information on where help of various kinds can be found may thus open to them the possibility of making a different adjustment to life circumstances.

Second, self-defeating patterns often develop and persist because people lack the simple skills necessary for making an alternative adjustment. For example, in lower-income families a variety of financial problems arise which are related to inadequate skills in budgeting, purchasing, and the like. If these skills can be acquired through informal education services (e.g., home-economics programs), more satisfactory adjustments can be made.

Third, self-defeating modes of adjustment sometimes result because people do not have access to persons who possess the power to change circumstances that prevent them from behaving otherwise. What is needed is the help of persons who can intervene in their behalf with, for example, representatives of powerful and centralized bureaucratic systems (e.g., employers, schools, law-enforcement agencies, housing administrators, departments of public welfare, etc.).

Fourth, self-defeating adaptations often develop because people lack what we shall call enabling social resources. A mother cannot maintain contact with her child's school and interest in his progress if there is no money to pay for the care of smaller children while she visits the school. What may pass for lack of interest in important out-of-home activities may thus be in part a consequence of overwhelming burdens and responsibilities in the home which leave parents with neither time nor energy to invest elsewhere. A service program which is organized to provide strategic enabling social resources will go a long way toward arresting self-defeating adaptations.

Finally, self-defeating patterns frequently result from emotional or psychological disturbances. Indeed, considering the deprivations which many people in urban slums are forced to endure, it is remarkable that so many manage to maintain an adequate level of mental health. In work with the low-income person, therefore, it is especially important to emphasize the fact that efforts to reorganize the individual's personality system are useless if the environmental system of which he is a part continues to evoke from him the same debilitating psychological responses. In general, therefore, efforts to involve the individual in therapeutic processes must be preceded or accompanied by attempts to improve his social conditions.

Our proposed program, while based on traditional patterns of social casework service, will have two special emphases. These may be identified as follows:

In work with families from extremely deprived economic groups, concrete social services will be strongly emphasized. There are a number of reasons for this emphasis. Groups cannot be helped if they cannot be reached. It is generally conceded that lower-class persons are drawn to agencies which have concrete services to offer. Their social and economic problems are both concrete and overwhelming, and they are quite naturally in search of equally concrete ways of solving these problems. For another thing, they tend to define these problems as the consequence of external, arbitrary, capricious, and malevolent forces. One detects in these groups powerful if subtle emphases upon fate, upon the evil and immutable nature of man, upon man as the victim of superordinate natural and social forces. For these and other reasons, members of these groups regard the notion that a person in trouble can improve his circumstances through a better understanding of himself and the way in which he contributes to creating his own problems as alien and impractical. Furthermore, the personality attributes and skills required to implement such a definition -- e.g., introspection, insight, verbal facility, and the conduct of formalized, professional relationships -- are, for the most part not valued or possessed by lower-class groups; they are more likely to be associated with middle-class socialization. To reach these groups, then, concrete services are essential.

A further reason for our emphasis upon concrete services is our conviction that such services, if imaginatively employed in the context of a casework relationship, can be a powerful force for change in human behavior. For one thing, services which relieve environmental pressures may thus release blocked energies for investment in areas of family and occupational activity which were previously neglected. Strains between parents and children, for example, can often be relieved by overcoming superficially unrelated problems in the areas of health, income maintenance, and the like. Secondly, some persons who experience overwhelming environmental pressures may become capable of using specialized therapeutic relationships once the external pressures are reduced. Although we believe that many low-income persons cannot benefit greatly from traditional therapeutic services, some do possess the values and skills that are required for success in such relationships. For these persons, the relief of environmental pressures can be the crucial first step in making a therapeutic service inviting and effective.[37]

Finally, and most significantly, we believe that much is yet to be learned about the way in which changes in human behavior can be forcefully induced by deliberately reordering the social environment of the individual. What we wish to stress is the reconstruction of the individual's social conditions through a casework process so that he then experiences new pressures which exert a direct influence on him for change in a preconceived direction. We assume that significant problem solving and social and psychological growth take place as one becomes enmeshed in and is forced to grapple with changed social circumstances. Such an approach is particularly appropriate in dealing with large segments of the lower class, given their distinctive economic circumstances, cultural characteristics, and reluctance to become engaged in direct psychological activities. We suggest, in short, a strategy of social casework which employs social services and community resources generally as instruments of positive social and psychological change.

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[37] Although extensive studies have been conducted by Community Research Associates, they report that "little is known about treatment goals and methods suitable to this (unsocial) family's particular problems ...." It has been argued -- in our opinion, with some justification -- that traditional treatment agencies have not been willing to invest the time or resources necessary to provide intensive psychological help to low-income families. See Alice L. Voiland and Bradley Buell, "A Classification of Disordered Family Types," Social Work, Vol. 6, No. 4 (Oct. 1961), pp. 10-11.

To refine and extend this traditional emphasis in social casework calls for professional activity of the highest quality. What is required is careful assessment of the client's difficulties and appraisal of the kinds of social structure in which he ought to participate if changes are to take place. The question we must answer is, What types of person can be expected to be influenced in what ways by what types of program? The task is to make a differential diagnosis of the client's difficulties, to classify the differential influences which will be exerted by one or another program, and to bring the two together in a meaningful fashion. Such an approach -- stressing the possibilities of altering behavior and personality through the imaginative reconstruction of social circumstances buttressed by appropriate supportive casework relationships -- will, we believe, yield greater rewards in work with many low-income people.

We have spoken thus far of the need for emphasis on concrete services in working with low-income clientele. We wish also to emphasize the need to structure the service system itself in such a way as to maximize its congeniality to the group whom it is intended to engage.

All that we have said thus far leads us to deplore the unfortunate but nevertheless widespread tendency to separate agencies which provide primarily social services from those which provide service primarily through professional relationships. This split is exemplified, for example, in the division between government agencies which disburse funds for income maintenance and private agencies which make professional relationships available. The failure to integrate these two components of the helping relationship and thus to make them mutually reinforcing may be a significant impediment to the provision of effective aid. Our proposals stress the integration of these services in the same system.

A plan of service for low-income people must also take into account the bewildering consequences which ensue if these services are mediated through huge, centralized agency systems. For reasons arising from differences in socialization and life experiences, lower-class people are less skilled in dealing with and using the services of such systems than are their middle-class counterparts. In particular, they are less able to manage bureaucratic inequities when they arise; since low-income people require the concrete services of these systems for sheer survival, the inability to redress grievances effectively can be an important source of frustration, a sense of impotence, and self-defeating behavior. To engage people effectively, we submit, services must be informally organized. This requirement arises in part from the person-oriented character of low-income socialization, as distinct from the task- or function- or rule-orientations which are major components of socialization elsewhere in the social structure. Furthermore, we submit that services must be decentralized, for "the people who need you most need you near."[38] Although the costs of such a plan may superficially appear greater, the effectiveness of services will be disproportionately increased by such a strategy.

Thirdly, the increased use of sociocultural knowledge in approaches to these groups is important. Such knowledge is crucial whatever the clientele to be served, but it assumes particular importance in work with low-income groups. For one thing, the general life conditions of lower-class people tend to produce ways of life -- modes of family structure, sex-role differentiation, values, language forms, ways of relating to one another, etc. -- which differ significantly from the more familiar and widely diffused patterns of middle-class life. For another thing, the ethnic heterogeneity of our society is especially pronounced in the lower class. No program of services which fails to identify these variant sociocultural patterns of life and their psychological concomitants can hope to involve the people whom it seeks to help. To help them, by whatever method, we must construct a strategy of service which grows out of their patterned ways of understanding, perceiving, and grappling with reality. A not inconsiderable literature now exists which describes the life-styles of low-income groups of various ethnic, nationality, and racial origins. What is needed is systematic use of these materials in both the revision of diagnostic classifications and the modification of service strategies.

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[38] Helen Hall, as quoted in Neighborhood Goals in a Rapidly Changing World, New York: National Federation of Settlements and Neighborhood Centers, 1958, p. 13.

Neighborhood Service Centers

The principal means of providing specialized services to individuals and families will be the establishment of four Service Centers, or "helping stations," throughout the project area. The design, location, and informal organization of the Centers will, it is hoped, facilitate their use by lower-class persons who might otherwise shun professionalized services. Special emphasis will be given to services to families with children, particularly those between 10 and 15 years of age.

The Neighborhood Service Centers will offer a wide range of services, both practical and technical. They will provide inquiry, liaison-resources, "under-the-roof," social-planning, referral, and reintegration services.

Inquiry service: This service is designed to provide immediate practical information in response to inquiries about housing, education, public welfare, legal problems, consumer problems, and the like.

Applicants will not be required to give their names upon first contact. When clients are particularly wary or, as in the case of immigrants, unfamiliar with the city and the intricacies of its various bureaucratic structures, staff will make introductions on their behalf or accompany them to the appropriate resource.

The inquiry service will also provide entry to the other services offered. For example, a person who is having "trouble" with his welfare investigator, who has waited "too long" for response to his public-housing application, or whose landlord will not heat his flat may be referred by the case aide to the liaison-resources service (see below). It is likely that persons needing emergency help with emotional problems will also use the inquiry service. For example, a mother desiring that her youngster be "put away" may inquire about immediate commitment. In such instance, significant help will be provided by the high level of casework personnel available at the center.

Liaison-resources service: In order to encourage lower-class people to make more extensive use of available resources, a liaison-resources service will be established, composed of representatives of various municipal departments (Housing, Building, Welfare, Health, etc.) as well as employment services. In addition, explorations will be made with the Legal Aid Society for the provision of legal services, and caseworkers will be assigned on a full-time basis for liaison work with the courts. The liaison personnel will be of sufficient status in their respective agencies to function effectively as intermediaries, handling bottlenecks and red tape and carrying forward the resolution of problems brought to their attention. As intermediaries, they will explain the function of their agencies to complainants as well as redress justified grievances.

"Under-the-roof" services: Enabling social resources, we have noted, are often of central importance in relieving environmental pressures and making it possible for deprived and overburdened people to make a better social and psychological adjustment. "Under-the-roof" services will seek to organize and provide these resources.

A social caseworker will be responsible for making assignments, basing the selection upon the validity of the need itself, with no requirement for continuing casework relationship. Casework help will be necessary, however, to determine whether the service is most suitable for the family, to help parents and children make best use of the service, and to assist with problems emerging from the use of the service. A public health nurse will visit the homebound and make appropriate medical referrals. A visiting homemaker will offer assistance to new migrant families who need help in becoming adjusted to urban life. Conceived of as an "amicus familiae," neither a professional homemaker nor a domestic but simply a more experienced, kindly neighbor, the homemaker will help with the daily chores of shopping, meal preparation, sewing, etc. In addition, she will share neighborhood "know how," give general advice, and encourage the use of community resources. Escorts and baby-sitters, members of the Urban Youth Service Corps, will also be available.

Social-planning service: This service will integrate the other services offered by the Centers. It will be offered initially for a limited number of clients on an exploratory and testing basis. The social-planning service will be responsible for identifying and diagnosing problems of especially troubled families, developing a social plan, implementing and following through the plan, and deciding when to terminate services.

The service will attempt to determine to what degree "problem" behavior stems from emotional disturbance, sociocultural difficulty, or situational frustration. Diagnosis will give appropriate weight to the psychological and social determinants of problems. It will assess the amenability of the social situation to casework intervention, in addition to the client's accessibility to help.

Wherever possible, intake and the sustained service of the social-planning unit will be the responsibility of the same worker. Differential diagnoses will, of course, lead to a specific plan for each individual or family, to be developed with the family. Teacher, guidance counselor, settlement worker, public-health nurse, homemaker, welfare worker, psychiatrist will then be called upon as required. The caseworker, viewed here as a "general practitioner," will coordinate the effort.

Referral service: The social-planning service will refer clients who require protracted diagnostic or treatment effort to appropriate local agencies -- for example, the mental-hygiene clinics of Henry Street and University Settlements. A service unit will be established in each clinic, which will have two major objectives: (1) to test classical casework treatment services with lower-class clients; and (2) to experiment with newer casework methods, such as family-centered treatment.

Social reintegration of released juvenile offenders: To help newly released juvenile offenders to locate needed social resources and to exploit these resources fully, an experimental unit of trained parole officers will operate in the Service Centers. Contact with the youngster will be established while he is still in the institution in order to encourage in him the belief that he can "make it" on the outside and to develop a plan to facilitate "a way back." The officer will then be responsible for implementing, coordinating, and supervising the reintegration plan. He will secure the cooperation of neighborhood agencies and function as liaison between the community and the ex-inmate. He will maintain frequent contact with the youngster in order to help him resolve difficulties in readjusting to school, obtaining employment, and the like. He will attempt to explain the youngster's plight to people in the neighborhood in an effort to enlist their help in easing the road back.

A major facet of the Neighborhood Service Center proposal is the plan to offer coordinated social and psychological services. In addition to gathering personnel of varying expertise, this plan makes it necessary to ensure the participation of a wide gamut of community people and agencies. It is proposed, for example, that the administration of the Center be a cooperative endeavor of Mobilization and the Interdepartmental Committee of Commissioners. This plan is intended to ensure the integration of social services which are ordinarily offered under public auspices with professional and psychological services more often provided in the private sector. In addition, a neighborhood advisory committee will be formed. Leaders who reside in the area will be recruited, in order to maximize use of the service and community identification with it. It is hoped that the involvement of local community leaders in the decision-making process will increase the feeling of neighborhood people that, to some degree, the Centers are "theirs."

Experimental Narcotics Programs

Specialized services to addicts: At the present time drug addiction is one of the most serious forms of deviant behavior on the Lower East Side. It is proposed, therefore, to establish, under the auspices of the Lower East Side Information Service for Narcotics Addiction, Inc., a pilot demonstration project to work with 50 randomly selected teen-age and young adult addicts. In addition to detoxification, the project includes an integrated community-based program of needed psychiatric, medical, and social services. Other Mobilization services, particularly vocational-guidance job-training and placement and recreational services will be utilized. Ultimately the facilities of a "halfway house" may be required.

It is possible that a voluntary agency also will work with a control group of 50 addicts, randomly chosen. The control group would have available the same battery of services except that an intensive medical program involving the controlled use of sustaining doses of drugs would be utilized. The details of this phase of the program will be presented in a subsequent submission if it is determined to be possible.

Sheltered workshop: Professionals experienced in working with drug-users -- psychiatrists, sociologists, clergymen, social group workers, and others -- have indicated the need for a sheltered workshop for addicts. A sheltered workshop can provide an opportunity to test the value of work in the resocialization of addicted youth. It may also provide an opportunity for such youth to learn elementary skills and work habits which may be useful to them in later years. A specific proposal for a sheltered workshop for narcotics addicts will be detailed in a subsequent submission.

The workshop should be regarded as a treatment-oriented as well as a work-oriented service. This, of course, has implications for the structuring of the shop, the training of its personnel, and its auspice.

Community education: The Subcommittee on Narcotics, with the Lower East Side Information Service for Narcotics Addiction, Inc., is in the process of developing a community-education program on the problem of narcotic addiction. The plan is to attempt to determine whether community education can prevent the spread of drug addiction. The possibility that the Department of Health may co-sponsor this program is being explored currently. A specific proposal will be detailed in a subsequent submission.

Other Services to Individuals and Families

Services to individuals and families will not, of course, be limited to the programs outlined in this section. Indeed, there is no Mobilization program which will not focus on individual functioning. We have asserted the importance of giving individualized assistance to persons who might otherwise not use available resources effectively. The advantage of closely integrating such help within the structure of each service is obvious. Thus group workers and work-experience counselors will need the time, training, and sensitivity to focus upon mitigating the personal difficulties of participants as these affect their use of the program. Guidance people will serve this function in the public schools.

Individuals with behavioral difficulties too severe for such treatment will be referred for casework and psychiatric services. Caseworkers will therefore need to have a knowledge of the full gamut of community programs. For example, if a youngster is unable to use the Youth Corps experience meaningfully, he may be seen by a worker at a Neighborhood Service Center. In order to understand the youngster's reactions and help him to renounce the behavior that prevents his effective participation, the worker will need to be familiar with the activities and peer-group demands of the Corps. This is particularly important since the focus of the contact will be the boy's effective utilization of the Corps experience.

Caseworkers will aid and advise other professionals as well. For example, teachers making home visits will be accompanied initially by social caseworkers who are skilled in interviewing and accustomed to entering the homes of strangers. As a parent shares his problems in the course of the interview, the worker may be able to direct him to appropriate community programs.

LENA's efforts in the Lower East Side and the multi-faceted nature of the Mobilization program permit close coordination of programs and specialties throughout the area. The aim of integrating specialized services to individuals with other community resources may thus be served.

Specialized Services to Groups

Group-service and recreational programs, like programs in the fields of work and education, help to expand opportunities for conformity and to increase the ability of young people to exploit these resources. For example, although the public school is the central educational institution for all youngsters, the agencies of informal learning -- e.g., settlements, boys' clubs -- also provide rich learning experiences. They make more apparent to young people the vocational and training resources which are available and in some cases provide "connections." By helping members to develop interpersonal skills, through both group activity and individual counseling, they prepare them to take advantage of what opportunities arise. They serve as mediators, representing their clientele with the schools, courts, and other institutions. They work closely with adults to increase their potential as learning models and in other ways help parents to prepare their youngsters for the worlds of work and school.

Indeed, group-service and recreational programs have a special contribution to make in fulfilling these functions, for they are often the only services that can attract the voluntary participation of the already deviant youngster. Apart from protective services, group programs of a predominantly recreational nature are the only ones in which the conventional world makes significant contact with the older delinquent. Their teaching, "connecting," and mediating functions are therefore crucial.

Most directly, however, these programs contribute by helping to manage the consequences of residual pressures for deviance. Informal learning institutions and group-service activities are in a unique position to emphasize the positive features in the youngsters' lives and provide alternate satisfactions to deviant behavior, such as participation in artistic, musical, dance, sports, and other leisure-time activities meaningfully related to the lower-class style of life. They can give youngsters an opportunity to express grievances and a channel for collective social action. Finally, they can help in restricting certain types of deviant behavior.

The greater flexibility of the less formal institutions of learning and their traditional concern with social ills make them useful spearheads for collective social action. Programs in which youngsters learn to come to grips with issues that affect their lives and develop skills in collective efforts to act upon these issues should be emphasized. Persuading slum youth to join in efforts to expand legitimate opportunities for all people in their social category is a difficult task because of the alienation of the youngsters and the relationship of the institution to other interest groups. Group programs so oriented can nevertheless be developed.

The effectiveness of group programs in restricting various types of deviant behavior stems from their ability to reach deviant youth. The detached worker who does not "rat" on his gang is nonetheless an agent of control. He increases the boy's perception of the consequences of delinquent activity. He revises definitions of explosive situations and mediates disputes.

There is, of course, a risk that repressing warrior groups alone may help to convert the "bopper" to drug addiction. The detached worker can, however, counteract this tendency by making a distinction between destructive behavior and boisterous activity. While there is sometimes a thin line between the two, the worker will run less risk of encouraging drug use if, in suppressing conflict, he permits boisterousness and encourages community tolerance for it. More important, he can help the "bopper" make the transition to adulthood by helping him to use available resources and by providing "on the streets" services, such as vocational counseling.

The organization of group services reflects the style and needs of lower-class youth to a greater degree than does the organization of more formal, nonvoluntary institutions or of the other social services. Specialized services to groups, such as detached street work or pre-adolescent club programs, are by nature informal and therefore amenable to change, whether the program is settlement-based or organized centrally and located "on the streets." Those who offer services cannot totally control the social climate in which it is given. Since organized recreation is not so basic to human needs as are some of the other social services, the recipient need not be so dependent upon the conferring agency. The slum youth has more freedom to "take it or leave it" than the welfare client and therefore has a better chance of shaping the service.

An agency's program offerings and its rules and procedures do affect the selection of its clientele, however. Programs which feature the "folksy" style of another day, for example, are not likely to attract the youngsters who must be reached by a delinquency-prevention program. In addition, the fact that the informal education agency serves a wide range of age groups makes it less attractive as a hangout for older adolescents, since it cannot be "theirs" in the sense that a restricted service is.

Unless the group programs are in keeping with contemporary lower-class youth style, they cannot provide alternate satisfactions to deviant behavior. If the supervising adult is a "square," he will, at best, be unable to maintain effective communication and, at worst, be bedeviled by marked hostility. Youngsters may attend an agency to play ball and thus help to shape its "atmosphere." This will not, however, ensure a program which is adventuresome or which has significance to the participants. A program for lower-class youth may also be made ineffective by the bureaucratization of service-giving -- for example, by "the flight from the client" of the most highly regarded workers, who quickly ascend the bureaucratic ladder -- and by a tendency to emphasize process and ignore content.

Group programs serve many socially useful functions which extend beyond the prevention and control of juvenile misbehavior. We have, however, emphasized those objectives which are most directly relevant to delinquency prevention and which cannot be met by any other type of program or institution. Services must of course be structured so as to attract youngsters who are delinquent or predisposed to delinquency and to ensure their meaningful participation. The major objectives of the Mobilization program of services to groups, then, are the following:

1. To provide activities that emphasize the positive features in youngsters' lives and thus offer alternate satisfactions to deviant behavior.

2. To provide channels for the expression of grievance and collective social action and to encourage their use.

3. To channel deviant behavior into less harmful forms and to provide conforming alternatives.

Coffee-Shop Project

Three storefront cultural centers will be set up within the Mobilization area, each having the outward aspect of a coffee house. An attractive new facility, symbolic of the style and mood of the youth themselves, each shop will be "jazzy" and "cool." The shops will be expressive of the socially acceptable interests of lower-class youth, aged 16 to 20, and thus will provide an alternative to illegitimate patterns.

Each coffee shop will have a distinctive artistic or cultural motif. "The Arts Center," devoted to the arts, culture, and history of Africa and the Caribbean, might sponsor a drum and dance troupe, steel bands, etc., comprised of local youth and talented outsiders. A Folk Jazz Center might be a second shop, for instruction and sponsorship of indigenous folk jazz groups (i.e., "rock and roll" quartets), containing a glass-enclosed studio for the cutting of records. A third shop, "The Gallery," might provide a showcase and meeting place for youthful artists, writers, poets, sculptors, ceramicists, etc.

The coffee shops will be basically social-cultural centers, where members can drop in casually to listen to music, play chess and checkers, and pursue other special interests. Simple refreshments will be provided, at reasonable rates. Such activities as performances by professional entertainers or neighborhood talent, exhibitions, and socials will be planned frequently, to reduce operating costs.

As the coffee shop becomes a more accepted and established institution, its services and purposes will expand to encompass qualities of a referral center, with professional staff alerted to offer vocational, educational, medical, and psychiatric resources for troubled youth and their families. Various specialists will drop in to visit the youngsters on their "home grounds." Bringing adolescents to the point where they will consider using community resources has long been a problem for youth-serving agencies; it is hoped that the "natural" setting of the coffee shops will yield new opportunities.

In working with delinquent groups, emphasis is ordinarily placed upon the professional in interaction with a single, defined "gang" unit. The worker focuses upon the antisocial actions of the group, in order to restrain destructive acts and prevent "trouble." The structure of the coffee shop program permits different emphases. It does not involve a single group, and it encourages recognition of the artistic talents, cultural interests, and indigenous life styles of the youth rather than focuses on their negative qualities. Instead of meetings between gang members and adult professionals to work out intergroup peace pacts, the staff-membership relationship can focus on the creation together of a new facility.

The coffee shops will be a cooperative undertaking. Members of the Urban Youth Service Corps will help to construct them. Neighborhood adolescents with healty potential and "rep" will assist in the planning, decoration, and management. A young adult from the area will be in charge of the commercial operations, and local adolescents will be employed as waiters and custodians. Managerial involvement by local youth will provide a peer source of authority. The adolescents may also serve as interpretive links between the coffee house patrons and the professionals. In addition, local young adults who have "gone social" may have considerable positive influence upon the behavior of the teen-agers.

Each shop will have a Resident Director, a group worker in charge of the house. A Resident Artist, competent to instruct in a specific art or cultural medium, will be hired on a per diem basis, and visiting artists will be employed when needed.

Detached-Worker Project

Detached-worker programs attempt to reduce antisocial "bopping" behavior among gang youth by various means. The intervention of a trusted adult who advises caution, settles disputes, and provides face-saving alternatives undoubtedly results in the diminution of conflict behavior. Increased "rep" -- status as a tough guy -- accrues to members of a gang which has a worker assigned to it, and this too may lessen the boys' need for "bopping." In order to change the basic values of gang members, the street worker attempts to establish influential relationships with youngsters. Through deep personal ties, the worker tries to convince youth to relinquish delinquent activities.

Another approach is to attempt to redirect the group's energies and interests into socially acceptable types of leisure-time activity. The worker gradually persuades the group to plan recreational and social events which offer satisfaction and recognition without the need for use of illegitimate or conflict behaviors. Thus "rep" is achieved by running a local dance rather than by trying to take over another gang's "turf"; good times are had by undertaking a weekend camping trip rather than a series of drinking parties, muggings, and boppings.

We feel, however, that an effective detached-worker project must use the worker as a "bridge," relating the street gang to the major institutional orders that impinge upon it. Thus the worker becomes a channel between the group and school authorities, potential employers, the courts, the police, etc. In aspiring to bring the delinquent into the mainstream of conventional society, the worker attempts to make available tangible educational and vocational opportunities which the youngster has felt are unattainable and which are vital to conventional adjustment. Thus, the detached-worker project will coordinate its efforts closely with the Youth Jobs Center, the Neighborhood Service Centers, the Urban Youth Service Corps, and agency personnel in the schools and juvenile courts.

Although the detached-worker project cannot offer direct solutions for the youngster who is drug addicted other than to refer him to existing psychiatric and medical settings, it may have influence upon gang youth who are at the stage of experimenting with drugs but are not yet "hooked." Needless to say, no one has a comprehensive answer to the narcotics problem. However, the street worker, with his ability to make meaningful contacts with the delinquent gang, can attempt to intercede and affect group attitudes in situations where addiction is not yet prevalant. It may be effective to emphasize the weakness, cowardice, and "sucker" attitudes of those who get caught up with the habit. By serving as a bridge to tangible resources, the street worker may also be able to counteract the potential addict's disillusionment with society and his sense of futility and deprivation.

At present the New York City Youth Board has a team of nine workers in the Mobilization area. Voluntary agencies have also experimented with detached programs, utilizing their institutions as a base of operations; for example, the "Operation Streetcorner" program of the Educational Alliance, as well as the work of Henry Street Settlement and the Lower Eastside Mission of Trinity Parish. An encompassing and cooperative detached-worker program is currently in process of development and will be detailed in a subsequent submission.

The Adventure Corps

Indications are that a great majority of youngsters in pre-delinquent groups can be steered away from developing full-blown patterns of antisocial behavior. Important as it is to rehabilitate teen-age gangs, it is more important from the preventive point of view to redirect pre-adolescent groups, thus breaking the destructive gang pattern.

The Adventure Corps is an organization designed to offer a variety of recreational, educational, cultural, and vocational activities to potentially delinquent boys nine to 13 years of age. Because of its inherent appeal, this program, it is hoped, will compete with the attractions of the delinquent culture and will induce pre-adolescents to avoid or relinquish antisocial actions.

Members of the Corps will be divided into squads of 20-25 boys, with two divisions of six or seven squads each. Utilizing a "para-military" form, it will introduce program content which provides adventure, discipline, and action. A curriculum guide will be devised for each squad, defining projects and grades of achievement. These projects, adapted to the interests and needs of low-income youth, will include athletics (judo, wrestling, tumbling, boxing, baseball), camping, marching bands, music (bongo, steel drum), educational programs (narcotics education, tutoring services, trips to museums and theatres), and vocational-training programs (trips to industries and trade schools).

The Corps will give special recognition and rewards to individuals and squads that participate most productively in the activities. Outstanding performances will yield promotions, citations, opportunities for special activities, and the like. Within each squad, there will be youth holding leadership rank because of their performance and ability in the Corps programs.

Competition between squads as members strive for individual and group advancement will result in internal group pressure for conformity.

Members of the Corps would risk personal and squad penalties -- formal and informal -- if they resorted to truancy, vandalism, use of narcotics, or other delinquent actions. In order to avoid "failures," a range of program will be made available that will allow each child to do well and gain recognition.

Recreation Aides of the Urban Youth Service Corps will assist professional group workers, graduate students of social work, and experienced part-time group leaders in working with each squad. These neighborhood adolescents will serve as role-models for the younger boys, in competition with teen-age delinquents. Parents will also be encouraged to participate in squad activities through parent advisory groups organized in each of the divisions.

Pre-adolescent Project

Teams of one full-time and four part-time social group workers, based in selected community centers, will establish direct contact with pre-delinquent groups in the immediate area. These youngsters, aged eight to 12, are not so hard to reach as their older compatriots. They frequently seek out recreational facilities but cannot easily be absorbed into normal center programs because of their disruptive behavior.

Each member of the team will work individually with pre-delinquent groups of 10 to 15 members each. However, the team approach will permit a more functional use of staff; two or even three workers can be deployed at one time to work with a group having special difficulties or engaged in activities requiring greater staff coverage. Group workers will use the community-center facilities at times which do not conflict with the normal program activities. They will also move out to nearby community facilities (parks, ball fields, swimming pools) as well as "natural grounds" -- the streets where the boys live and play. Frequent trips outside the Mobilization area will be planned.

The program calls for a vigorous, adventurous pace -- activities which respond to the styles and needs of pre-adolescent lower-class youth. Extended camping trips, boxing, tumbling, and judo are examples of motor activities to be accented. Artistic and musical talents will be stressed, with particular attention to the interests of various cultural groups (e.g., steel drum bands, rock and roll workshops, bongo instruction). Educational projects will be fostered (e.g., tutoring services, museum trips, remedial reading, narcotics education), as will activities to provide vocational guidance (e.g., trips to industries and vocational training schools).

The project will devise various means for revitalizing parental influence and authority. Group meetings will be held for parent education. In addition, parents will be encouraged to utilize their particular skills and interests, participating as resources for the youth programs (e.g., assisting on camping weekends, contributing their physical, athletic, or mechanical skills).

Older adolescents, members of the Urban Youth Service Corps, will provide part-time assistance to the group worker. These will be youth with a natural "feel" for and understanding of the young ones, boys who have outgrown their own deviant youth. These "big brothers" will assume influential roles in competition with the teen-age delinquent for the admiration of the younger boys.

Other Services to Groups

Programs which encourage the collective efforts of adults are noted in other sections of this report. To some degree the activity of adults in seeking reform will offer youngsters an example of a more constructive way of attacking social injustice than by deviant behavior. However, lower-class adolescents must also be heard. A member of the Mobilization group-services staff will have responsibility for the encouragement of attention to social issues among young people, the development of specific action programs for these groups, and the distribution of material aids to further their efforts. Through such group services as the Adventure Corps and the Coffee Shops, as well as the on-going teenage activities of the settlements, attention will be drawn to these programs. A further function of the staff member will be to explore the possibility of creating an organization of lower-class adolescents with just such a focus. Although it is premature to recommend such an organization until the other teen-age programs are operative, one goal of the various proposals is the ultimate creation of a Youth Organization, composed not only of the lower-class "elite" -- youngsters on their way up and out of their class -- but also of those for whom lower-class life may be a more permanent expectation. Both the Adventure Corps and the Coffee Shops, as a matter of fact, have features intended to be especially attractive to non-striving lower-class youth. A youth organization which treads the thin line between adult guidance and adolescent autonomy, which gives a hearing to the largely submerged point of view of adolescents, which visibly and dramatically provides an outlet for adolescent culture and capers, can open channels for the expression of grievances and the creation of hope.

CHAPTER IV

FEASIBILITY AND AUSPICES

Feasibility

Any program which is intended to bring about community change must be examined from the point of view of its feasibility. The ambitiousness of the Mobilization program and its link to institutions with differing points of view, practices, and pressures can be expected to produce substantial obstacles. Although this issue has been dealt with implicitly in some of the specific program recommendations, it needs to be addressed directly, and for the program as a whole.

Mobilization seeks the opportunity to test the boundaries of feasibility in promoting community change. A realistic understanding of the limitations of possibility is a requirement for achievement, but it should be combined with venturesomeness and willingness to risk failure. The very act of attempting more than can be accomplished immediately may serve to stretch the limits of achievability. For an experimental project with the resources of Mobilization for Youth, no less than the attempt is justifiable.

The feasibility of any community-wide change effort is affected by the nature of the change agent (i.e., the Mobilization for Youth staff, board, and program) and the community, and by their interaction. Although the community and the change agent are, of course, interrelated, and in some instances inseparable, the distinction is made for analytic purposes. What, we might ask, are some of the factors relevant to each which affect program feasibility?

The territoriality of the effort is one factor. On the one hand, a locally based change effort results in greater commitment to the attempt and draws on greater knowledge of unique neighborhood needs. Unless local institutions are involved and the "effective community"[1] of the delinquent is mobilized, it is unlikely that any program will have significant impact. Specifically defining the target for change in terms of a geographic area of limited size and population also makes for less dilution of effort and more reliable assessment of results. On the other hand, a locally based effort faces two problems.

The first has to do with the relationship of the local neighborhood to contiguous areas. For example, it was found that a detached-worker project conducted in an inner-city area decreased the conflict activities of its immediate clients but simultaneously increased the violent behavior of gangs on the periphery of the neighborhood. These gangs apparently regarded violence as a means of obtaining detached-worker services for themselves.[2] A second problem pertains to the relationship of the local neighborhood to centralized authority. Decisions having crucial significance for local neighborhood life are often made at the city level or above. Public-housing policies stem from a central authority, for example, and educational decisions affecting the local schools are made by a city-wide Board of Education. The problem this poses for local community organizations is readily apparent. Unless access to centers of decision-making authority can be opened, local attempts can have only limited effectiveness.

A community-based project requires a coordinated structure if it is to be feasible. Such coordination, however, raises a number of problems. How, for example, can interagency cooperation be ensured without violating agency autonomy? There is also the danger that a program resulting from the cooperative planning of disparate groups with varying interests will represent a least common denominator, reflecting agreement rather than significance.

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[1] See Appendix A-3 for a discussion of the delinquent's "effective community." The term is taken from a paper by Derek V. Roemer, "Focus in Programming for Delinquency Reduction," mimeographed, 1961.

[2] Walter Miller, "Impact of Community Group Work Program on Delinquent Corner Groups," Social Service Review, Vol. 31, No. 4 (Dec. 1957), pp. 399-440.

The resources, financial and otherwise, at the command of the change agent are a third factor affecting feasibility. Whether the undertaking is privately or publicly supported is a basic question. Success in initiating social change and marshaling community support for it results more often from the work of voluntary associations than from that of government groups.[3] Once conceived, a program which is privately managed may be more flexible, less subject to outside pressure, than one under public auspices. For example, private family agencies offer the indigent a variety of services that cannot be offered by the Department of Welfare, which is limited by law and must be more responsive to conflicting pressure groups and the political arena. Thus, a proposal to organize lower-income groups into an effective community force for social action, as suggested by Mobilization, may be visionary if it is conceived as a program to be conducted under public auspices. Although experimentation is served by private sponsorship, the major source of funds for large-scale demonstration is in the public sector. However, one cannot obtain public funds without some public control -- nor, if it were possible to do so, would this be ethically justifiable.

Barriers to change are an aspect of every community. Real or imagined threats to the special interests of particular institutions are a major source

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3. For a statement of this point of view, see Peter H. Rossi, "The Organizational Structure of an American Community," in Amitai Etzioni, Complex Organizations, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1961, pp. 301-12.

of resistance. A youth work program, for example, must take into account the legitimate concern of trade unions for preventing a diminution of the job opportunities available to their members. Business interests, desirous of protecting themselves from the competition of publicly aided youth enterprises, constitute a further barrier. Similarly, the development of new organizations of hitherto non-participating adults may threaten the special interests of local political parties with an investment in the community status quo. Indeed, a coordinating structure, such as a community council, if it has sufficient resources and influence to command attention, may seem to pose a threat even to the constituent members of the structure, for "playing the over-all community game"[4] may mean overriding the more restricted concerns of some of the players.

Institutional rivalry and competition may be another source of resistance to community change. Such rivalry may be based upon substantive ideological differences -- for example, the issue of whether deviant behavior is attributable primarily to forces within the individual or to the social structure. It may, on the other hand, be based upon concern with the public image of the institutions. Disagreement is not, of course, necessarily a barrier to change. However, resolution which compromises basic principles or intensity of feeling which prevents effective interaction will impede the development of the change attempt.

The integrity of the programs as planned may also be jeopardized when they are administered by large-scale bureaucracies. Efforts may be so diluted or diffused that the program, in practice, no longer carries its original intent. This is particularly likely when there are gaps in communication between the planners and the practitioners, such as may occur when planning takes place "on top" and is then "subverted" by persons in operating positions. (This, of course, is the traditional problem of integrating staff and field efforts.) Ideological differences between the planners and institutional representatives, whether staff or field, may also lead to "faulty" implementation. In the search for a modus vivendi, the two groups may reach agreement which is based upon calculated misunderstanding -- i.e., avoidance of what each party really means by the "settlement." When leeway is allowed in the interpretation of the agreement, implementation of the program will generally reflect the traditional approach of the institution.

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[4] Norton E. Long has conceptualized a local community as an ecology of games, in which community structure is an unconscious product of a set of interrelated games played by persons and groups for limited ends. This perspective highlights the fact that few persons"play an over-all game"; Long asserts that certain social-welfare workers and newspaper editors as persons who come close to doing so. See Norton E. Long, "The Local Community as an Ecology of Games," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 64 (Nov. 1958), pp. 251-61.

Although obstacles to the feasibility of a large-scale community demonstration are considerable, it could be argued that the difficulty of achieving the objectives of the program may be a measure of the extent to which it needs doing. In the instance of Mobilization, many of these difficulties have been solved, many can be dealt only in the process of program implementation, and some may even be insoluble. To some extent, the plan of action outlined in the previous chapter is itself a demonstration of the program's feasibility. What has been proposed is not necessarily the "ideal" remedy which flows from our diagnosis of the delinquency problem but proposals upon which community agreement has been obtained.

Nevertheless, in order to assess the feasibility of the Mobilization proposal, it is necessary to review the character of the change agent, as well as the processes by which community acceptance has been, and will continue to be, garnered.

We have suggested contradictory criteria for the change agent. It should be locally rooted but cosmopolitan in its connections. It must be a coordinated effort but must not represent the least common denominator. It must have freedom to experiment, which is more likely under private auspices, and also the resources of (and, therefore, a measure of control by) the public sector.

Mobilization for Youth was conceived by the social agencies of the Lower East Side and then broadened to include neighborhood church and public-school officials. Years of experience and deep roots within the local area are represented by these founding institutions. The Mobilization area itself is less adversely affected by undefined geographic boundaries than are most inner-city areas, since only its western boundary spills forth into the broader community. Its northern edge is 14th Street, a significant geographic and ecological barrier; its southern border runs into a tip of lower Manhattan; and its easternmost border is the East River. Its population of 107,000 persons may be regarded as residing in a small city within a city.

The cosmopolitan nature of Mobilization was enhanced by the addition to the 22-man board of directors of 11 members appointed by Columbia University's New York School of Social Work. Thus the board consists not only of professional and lay people representing local as well as broader interests, but also of outstanding academicians and leaders of important city-wide and national agencies, such as the New York Community Service Society, the Urban League, and the Office of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. The project has been further strengthened by the support of the National Institute of Mental Health, several large private foundations, and the President's Commission on Juvenile Delinquency.

A pattern of private and public cooperation is in the process of being evolved which will ensure decentralized attention to local community problems and sufficient freedom for experimentation while, at the same time, providing for the resources, power, and appropriate attention of public officials. This pattern of cooperation will be extended to the administration of subsections of the Mobilization program: public-school programing will necessarily and properly be under the aegis of the public-school system; services to groups will be privately sponsored; and the Neighborhood Service Centers will be jointly administered.

That Mobilization is a coordinated effort is indicated by the foregoing. The project has grown in ever-widening circles to include groups of varied interest and point of view. That the Mobilization proposal does not reflect a least common denominator, we suggest, perhaps immodestly, is indicated by the proposal itself. Three factors may be responsible. First is the long, intensive experience of the agencies on the Lower East Side in working closely together. Further, undergirding the Mobilization program is a theoretical point of view which has given unity to planning. By its interest in the theory, the National Institute of Mental Health, whose financing made the planning period possible, helped to turn the attention of community representatives to these theoretical perspectives. A third factor was the commitment of the staff to the point of view and its relative freedom from the pressure of vested interest.

The Mobilization planning period was intended to serve three primary purposes: to integrate theories of action with research, to conceive a program of action, and to develop evaluative techniques. Significantly, however, it also provided the necessary opportunity for developing community "readiness." Since Mobilization is a local coordinated effort, this involved internal discussions and adjustments. It also entailed broadening local community participation, as well as that of city-wide and even national groups. This made it possible to obtain positive support for the program, as well as mitigating some of the resistance which inevitably accompanies community change proposals.

An example may serve to illustrate the process. A local Superintendent of Schools, a member of the Mobilization board, was vitally interested in the potentialities of the project. Through the joint effort of the Superintendent and Mobilization personnel, the N.Y.C. Board of Education released the full-time services of a local principal to act as liaison between the project and the school system. A Professor of Education from Columbia University's Teachers' College was hired by Mobilization to prepare the education section of the proposal. Together, the liaison principal and the Mobilization educator, with the support of both local Superintendents with schools in the Mobilization district, conducted an extensive series of conferences and meetings with local school people, principals, district coordinators of functional areas, and the like. Simultaneously, discussions with other Mobilization staff were also taking place. The Board of Education liaison person effectively interpreted the needs and opinions of school officials and Mobilization staff to each group, thus helping to bridge a communications gap. The Mobilization educator represented the expertise of the field of teacher education. Other Mobilization staff focused upon the theoretical perspectives of the project, the interrelations of education and other aspects of program, and the interests of other groups, such as the private foundations. While these three points of view were not essentially contradictory, there were, of course, differences to be negotiated and problems to be resolved. The resultant program reflected the knowledge and basic concerns of local school people, plus the stimulation provided by those in related professional fields outside the system. It was a program which could then command the enthusiastic support of all parties.

Planning in every area cannot, of course, demonstrate such positive results. Four strategies in the planning process may be identified: problem-solving, persuasion, bargaining, and "politics."[5] In problem-solving, objectives are shared. What is then required is the assembling of information and the examination of alternatives, so that a mutually satisfying solution may be evolved. To some degree, the development of the school program, as described above, is an example of problem-solving. Persuasion implies that at some level there are shared objectives, and that disagreement over subgoals may be mediated by reference to other common goals. The suspicion of the labor unions regarding youth work programs is a case in point. The basic purposes of such programs are ordinarily agreed upon by all. It is then necessary to mediate the specifics of the program. In some instances, the program will be altered to reflect the legitimate concerns of the unions. In other instances, the unions will be assured that their basic interests have not been violated. Bargaining, a usual accompaniment to the planning process, implies settlement without agreement over basic goals. One example is the inclusion of a program which is significant to a group's basic interest in return for their consent to include other programs which may be irritants. The use of "politics" in the

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5. These strategies of planning have been suggested by a discussion of the processes by which organizations react to conflict. See James G. March and Herbert A. Simon, Organizations, New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1958, pp. 129-31.

planning process also assumes basic disagreement, but politics, unlike the "horse trading" of bargaining, implies that forces are aligned and that prestige and power are brought to bear upon contending parties.

These processes do not, of course, exist independently of one another. Some elements of each are undoubtedly present in every major planning operation. The feasibility of the Mobilization program will be determined by its ability to use them. This, in turn, will depend upon such factors as the competences of the internal planning group, its commitment to the premises and ideology of Mobilization, its willingness to risk conflict to defend basic principles, combined with its amenability to compromise on resonable terms. The scope of the project, which allows room for maneuvering and provides varying degrees of visibility to particular audiences, is another factor. Finally, the program's support by persons and groups of local, city, state, and national prestige and power will affect its feasibility.

The foregoing does not, of course, answer the problem of meeting resistance to community change. In the final analysis, much will depend upon individual and group judgment. When, for example, does "reasonable compromise" become capitulation? What is reasonable at one point in time may, because of new and unforeseen conditions, have a disastrous effect upon the achievement of a particular goal. At what point in time, and concerning what issues, can the support of prestigeful people be harnessed? The list of possible questions is almost endless.

We suggest, nevertheless, that this exploration provides an approach to the issue. The Mobilization program, as written, constitutes one punctuated point of time in the planning process. Issues will arise in the implementation of that program which cannot now be anticipated or for which remedies cannot yet be prescribed. The presently agreed-upon program serves, however, as a platform upon which future negotiation may be based. In some instances, strategic retreat may be required; in others, unanticipated advances may be possible. The extent to which Mobilization's ends are achieved will be determined by its skill and flexibility in meeting these changing conditions.

Auspices

A community-based delinquency-prevention program may emphasize one of three approaches: First, current services may be expanded, in order to maximize the contributions of existent institutions; or programs effectively tested elsewhere may be developed within these institutions. In such instances, there may be a problem of competing institutional claims for ascendancy, but there is ordinarily scant resistance. In essence, expansion implies endorsement of current methods.

Secondly, innovating programs may be developed to demonstrate (and evaluate) new ways of working to effect behavioral change. This "showcase" approach provides the opportunity for experimentation, with the expectation that others, within the local community and outside, will ultimately replicate the practice. Innovation, in part, tends to imply criticism of current agency activity, for why else would the new be necessary? This is particularly so when the new is suggested by an outside group, such as a planning staff or a coordinating council. Paradoxically, of course, the planner who is most remote from the day-to-day needs of current practice, and consequently from the pressures of interest groups, is the most likely to propose innovation. The innovating demonstration may or may not be located in an existent auspice. In some instances, the integrity of the demonstration may be threatened if the program is too quickly rooted within a setting which is unable to nurture the experiment.

Finally, the program may focus upon adaptation of existent services, to make them more available to or effective with a particular group. For example, a delinquency-prevention program must hope to attract a particular clientele -- those children and parents who, because of their location in the class structure or their minority-group status, are most likely to feel the strains which frequently lead to deviance. Institutions, however, often aspire to serve a total community. Paradoxically, this may make them unattractive or inappropriate to certain sections of the community. Services may be structured in a way that unintentionally prohibits their effective use by particular groups. Thus, while psychological counseling is a requirement of a delinquency-prevention and control program, some of the people such a program must attract may be the least accessible to psychological counseling. Obviously, then, changes must be made in the organization of such services to encourage their use by appropriate persons.

Because of the experimental nature of Mobilization, its premises, and its broad scope, all three approaches are indicated. An objective of Mobilization is that its perspectives and programs, if proved effective, will take root within the existing communal structure. Each approach must, therefore, be examined from this point of view. We need to ask: what effects will Mobilization have upon the community's ability to carry the work forward? Unfortunately, there is no definitive answer to this question, but only risk, hunch, and further questions.

We assume that a program's auspices affect the extent to which it can become an integral part of the community.[6] In this view, the development of community competence requires that local institutions be actively engaged in program formulation or practice. For this reason, as well as others, most of the Mobilization programs have been planned for direct administration by existent institutions.

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[6] A detailed outline of Mobilization programs and their auspices can be found at the end of this chapter.

Where the approach is the expansion of current services, or the transfer of programs tested in other communities, direct administration is the obvious course. An example is the Pre-Adolescent Youth Project, an extension of experimentation already undertaken by Henry Street Settlement. This is to be managed, in the Mobilization plan, by the local settlements. However, when the demonstration period has ended, and Mobilization resources are no longer available, there will be the problem of the continuance of these programs. How can we maximize the linkage between current and ultimate financing? How can we ensure that agency services do not become overextended? How can we prevent Mobilization-supported programs from discouraging the fund-raising efforts required for continued maintenance of local agencies? These are some of the questions which Mobilization and local institutions will need to face together. It is, of course, our hope that programs which are proved effective will obtain continued support, either through the efforts of the agencies or, where appropriate, from government sources.[7] It may be that agencies will transfer some of their available resources from other services to these. If there are significant changes in community conditions, whether due to the Mobilization effort or to some other cause, it may, of course, be possible to discontinue many of the programs.

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[7] Concern for the future has led us to encourage greater involvement by public departments in the Mobilization program. A major resource, of course, exists within the public sector. Although public participation does not by any means guarantee continued support, it is a step in that direction. In addition, wherever possible, prior agreement for the continuance of programs will be negotiated.

Although our position emphasizes the operation of programs under existent auspices, other solutions to planning dilemmas also need consideration. It is conceivable, for example, that a successful demonstration will be taken over at a later time by an existent agency, or that a new group will be developed to continue the program, or that the experiment will encourage modification of practices within existent institutions.

The Mobilization package has avoided a focus upon the innovating experiment independently administered. Three such programs are contemplated, the Urban Youth Service Corps, Organizing the Unaffiliated, and the Coffee Shop proposal. In each case, other circumstances beyond the preservation of the integrity of the experiment affected the decision. For the coffee shops, for example, a centralized management was deemed necessary to closely integrate the operation of the three shops which will be dispersed throughout the area. No such centralized operating agency exists within the Mobilization neighborhood. Further, an established institution creates a certain atmosphere because of factors over which it has no control: the presence of all age groups, the rules necessitated by such clientele, the agency's physical facilities, its history, and the like. Preconceived notions may inhibit the development of a youth program which is identified with another milieu. This is particularly problematic when a sense of the youngsters' ownership is important to the conception of the plan.

The principle of minimizing direct operation by Mobilization stems from the conviction that if changes are to be made in existent services, the extensive participation of the service-giver is required. Although, as has been indicated, modification may take place as a result of outside demonstration, participation is more likely to result in the acquisition of new skills and the development of new commitments. This, of course, poses problems, for the institution which is asked to develop new methods of service-giving is exposed to implicit criticism which may discourage it from full participation.

We would assert, nevertheless, that change efforts within the setting of a large-scale demonstration project are most effective when they are a co-operative undertaking of existing structures interacting with new ones. The former contribute experience, the reality of things-as-they-are, substantive knowledge, and considerable commitment. The latter offer a possibly different point of view, objectivity, and the knowledge of other settings or disciplines.

Two basic patterns have been developed to ensure cooperation between old and new structures. The first is the contract method, through which existing agencies will contract with Mobilization for Youth for the provision by the agencies of specific programs. According to this plan, the agencies will have direct management of the contracted services. Criteria for each service will be developed by Mobilization and will be utilized by its board in granting contracts to the participating agencies. For each functional area, such as community organization, group services, services to individuals, and the like, a board advisory committee will be established. Representatives of local institutions will be included on these program advisory committees, although they will not, of course, participate in the granting of contracts. Modifications of this plan will also be used for programs like the Adventure Corps, which will be conducted on a contractual basis by the agencies but will have a co-ordinated administration through the Mobilization for Youth staff.

A second method will be direct operation by Mobilization for Youth of such experimental programs as the Coffee Shops and Organizing the Unaffiliated.

The board advisory committee established for functional areas will also be related to programs operated directly. In the case of some of these programs, this method will be modified to permit the participation of certain existing agencies. An example would be the proposed cooperation with the New York City Board of Commissioners for the Inter-Departmental Neighborhood Service Center in the operation of the Neighborhood Service Centers.

These patterns of joint participation will maximize the community impact of the Mobilization program, so that innovating experiments will ultimately be incorporated within the community structure and will endure after the demise of the Mobilization experiment. Thus a community -- including institutions and people -- more competent to handle its own affairs will, we hope, be realized.

Outline of Auspices for the Action Programs

I. WORLD OF WORK

Subsidized Work Programs

1. Urban Youth Service Corps and Teen-Age Industries

   Auspices: Direct operation of Mobilization for Youth

2. Exploratory Work Courses

   Auspices: Direct operation of Mobilization for Youth in cooperation with the Board of Education of the City of New York

3. Youth Job Centers

   Auspices: Direct operation of Mobilization for Youth in cooperation with agencies in the vocational-counseling and job-placement areas and the Board of Education of the City of New York

II. WORLD OF EDUCATION

1. Education Programs

   Auspices: Contract with the Board of Education of the City of New York

III. THE COMMUNITY

1. Organizing the Unaffiliated

   Auspices: Direct operation of Mobilization for Youth

2. Lower Eastside Neighborhood Councils

   Auspices: Contract with Lower Eastside Neighborhood Association

3. Lower Eastside Neighborhood Association Program Development Unit

   Auspices: Contract with Lower Eastside Neighborhood Association

4. Experimental Housing Program

(To be shown in subsequent submission)

5. New Frontiers and Services

Auspices: Contracts with participating agencies

IV. SPECIALIZED SERVICES TO INDIVIDUALS AND FAMILIES

1. Neighborhood Service Centers

Auspices: Direct operation of Mobilization for Youth in cooperation with the New York Board of Commissioners for the Inter-Departmental Neighborhood Service Center

2. Visiting Homemaker Service

Auspices: Direct operation of Mobilization for Youth in cooperation with the New York City Board of Commissioners for the Inter-Departmental Neighborhood Service Center

3. Mental Hygiene Referral Service

Auspices: Contracts with two local-settlement mental-hygiene clinics

4. Narcotics Experiments

a. Special Services for 50 Teen-Age Young Adults and Their Families

Auspices: Contract with the Lower Eastside Information and Service Center for Narcotic Addiction, Inc.

b. Sheltered Workshop

(To be shown in subsequent submission)

c. Preventive Educational Programs

(To be shown in subsequent submission)

V. SPECIALIZED SERVICES TO GROUPS

1. The Coffee Shops

   Auspices: Direct operation of Mobilization for Youth

2. Detached-Worker Project

   Auspices: Contract with local youth-serving agencies with coordinated administration by Mobilization for Youth

3. Adventure Corps

   Auspices: Contracts with local youth-serving agencies with coordinated administration by Mobilization for Youth

4. Pre-Adolescent Youth Project

   Auspices: Contracts with local youth-serving agencies

VI. RECRUITMENT AND TRAINING

1. Training Programs

   Auspices: a. Contracts with universities

   b. Direct operation of Mobilization for Youth

VII. ADMINISTRATION OF MOBILIZATION FOR YOUTH

Auspices: Direct operation of Mobilization for Youth

VIII. RESEARCH

Auspices: Contract with the Research Center of the New York School of Social Work of Columbia University

Chapter V

AN OVERVIEW OF THE RESEARCH PROGRAM

Programs of Basic Research

In conjunction with the service phases of Mobilization for Youth, three types of research are proposed: basic research on substantive issues pertinent to the definition, distribution, origins, and content of juvenile delinquency, as well as to related matters; evaluation of the net impact of the service program as a whole upon significant community variables, such as the rates and types of deviant behavior, the social integration of residents, their attitudes toward the community, and their sense of social well-being; and evaluation of specific service programs, such as the Homework Helper Program or the Neighborhood Service Centers. Each of these general research objectives is discussed here under a separate heading. The division of this chapter into types of research should not obscure the relationships between certain studies described under different headings. Many studies have implications for other studies; for example, the proposed basic-research project dealing with problems in the definition of delinquency will produce data critical for evaluation.

The projects are in different stages of development. A few began in the planning phase of Mobilization for Youth and are now ready for analysis of data. Others are projects designed to be implemented along with the service program. Others, particularly evaluation studies of specific services, have thus far been confined to the preliminary task of defining criteria. The inevitable transformations of the details of an action program in moving from a paper plan to an implemented community service preclude design of detailed research on any specific service at this time.

There are four proposals for basic research. Each of these reflects our sense of priorities for research in the field of delinquency. One deals with the relationship between self-reported misconduct and official delinquency rates and seeks to discover whether variations in this relationship can be attributed to the demographic and social structure of various urban neighborhoods. The second proposal deals with the social reintegration of offenders returning from juvenile institutions. It is based on the assumption that the post-release period is the most critical in the rehabilitative process, and that recidivism can be understood partly as the consequence of invidious definitions of the offender in his home community, which prevent his full reintegration. The third proposal calls for the analysis of extensive survey data gathered during the planning phase of this project. These materials pertain to theoretical issues in the origins, distribution, and patterning of delinquent behavior. Finally, we propose to conduct a historical study of the social organization of the urban political machine in order to place in perspective the role of the machine as an integrating force in contemporary urban areas.

Delinquency and Its Definition

Contemporary sociological theories of juvenile delinquency assume that characteristics of those who misbehave and the social context affect not only the types and frequencies of acts which could be defined as delinquent but also the criteria applied by official agencies in selecting certain adolescents for official processing. Yet the development of theories of the genesis of deviant behavior and its definition by official agencies is handicapped by the paucity of statistical information other than the official statistics, which indicate only the outcome of a complex process. We propose to obtain data relevant to these issues and to relate them to their social and physical context.

Data relevant for the study of juvenile delinquency fall into three categories. First is an unknown distribution of adolescents who have violated rules codified in delinquency statutes; some have been officially declared delinquent, and others have not. We refer to their acts as "adolescent misconduct." The second distribution is of adolescents who have been officially declared delinquent. The third category consists of the "discrepancy ratio" -- official delinquents expressed as a proportion of those who could have been so processed.

Information about each of these three distributions is essential for understanding separate but interrelated theoretical issues. The misconduct distribution goes to the problem of how pressures in different sectors of the social system generate different rates of misbehavior. The distribution of official delinquents defines the universe of youngsters selected for correctional experiences. The discrepancy ratio reflects the selectivity of official agencies with respect to the misconduct over which they have jurisdiction.

From questionnaires self-administered in a school setting of 15 year-old males residing in a sample of 50 New York City community areas, we will obtain the rates of adolescent misconduct, status characteristics of the boys and their families, and other information. (We will employ a revision of the Short-Nye Scale, as well as other instruments, to measure misconduct.) By processing the names of the boys in the sample through police and court records, we will identify the "official delinquents" among them. A discrepancy ratio for each community area can be determined from these two distributions.

Each of the three distributions will be utilized as a dependent variable for regression analysis, to determine the social and physical characteristics of urban areas which account for their variation. At the same time, within each urban area we will be able to compare characteristics of youth who scale high on misconduct with characteristics of those who do not; we can analyze differences between those who were officially defined as delinquent and the others in the same area who engaged in violations without being processed by official agencies. In this manner analysis can move from ecological to individual "correlations," providing a more integrated interpretation of delinquency than previous research has been able to achieve.

If the information at the disposal of the criminologist concerns only the misbehavior of youth segregated for official action, apparently he has what amounts to a biased sample, from which he cannot infer the characteristics of the universe from which it is drawn. Nor can he determine the nature of the sample's "bias" without additional information about the universe. Studies which produce and analyze data applying to all dimensions of the delinquency process are essential to give theoretical formulations a firm empirical base.

The Social Reintegration of Released Juvenile Offenders

Of continuing concern in the correctional field is the high rate of recidivism among youthful offenders. The proposed study seeks information on the process of reintegrating such offenders into school, work, home, and the community at large through detailed observations of the experience of delinquents released from juvenile institutions. The assumption is made that the major explanation for high rates of recidivism lies not simply in the failure of institutional programs of rehabilitation but in barriers to conformity erected by persons in the community to which the offender returns.

The majority of youth released from training schools find themselves handicapped in making a conventional adjustment not only because of their deficiencies in motivation and skills but also because of the way in which they are defined by persons in the community. Thus, it is not enough to motivate adolescents to live law-abiding lives and to equip them psychologically and vocationally for leading such a life. It is also necessary to change the social situation to which the offender returns so that he may escape the consequences of these invidious definitions.

The proposed research seeks to examine these ideas through detailed observation of 100 boys released from training schools. The plan is to maintain daily contact with the youngster as he seeks to reintegrate himself into the community. We will note with whom he interacts, by whom he is rebuffed, and the youngster's reactions to and definitions of what is happening to him. These observations will be supplemented by systematic interviews with the youngster and adults significant in his life.

The research should shed light on the prevalence of barriers to conformity in school, work, and the community; the characteristics of the youngsters who are most subjected to these barriers; and the effect of these barriers upon recidivism and reintegration into the community.

Analysis of Survey Data

Data in hand have been drawn from three surveys: (1) interviews with one adult in each of 988 households in the Mobilization area;[1] (2) interviews with all youngsters between 10 and 19 years of age in these same households;[2] and (3) interviews with the leaders of 200 organizations in the Mobilization area.[3] These data are to be utilized for three purposes: (1) to provide leads in staging the action program; (2) to establish a base from which changes in the community may be assessed for evaluation purposes; and (3) to contribute to basic knowledge of the causes, nature, and consequences of juvenile delinquency.

The first purpose involves specifying those segments of the population which are most likely to profit from particular kinds of Mobilization programs.

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[1] See Appendix R-3

[2] See Appendix R-4.

[3] See Appendix R-6.

Not all aspects of the total Mobilization program will be distributed throughout the area; programs will be directed to those who need them most. Analysis of the survey materials will aid in specifying the age, sex, or ethnic groups and the geographical areas which should receive a particular set of services. This phase of analysis will be completed by June 1962.

The second purpose is related to evaluation of the net impact of the Mobilization program. In order to assess the degree to which Mobilization has been successful in its efforts, it is necessary to know the state of the community prior to the start of the program. Analysis of the survey materials will enable us to chart precisely the attitudes, sentiments, aspirations, and perceptions of various segments of the community. The first two purposes of the program, then, are closely related, for in order to provide information for use in staging of the program, it is necessary to have a clear idea of the state of the community.

The third use of the surveys pertains to two of the theoretical issues raised in Delinquency and Opportunity.[4] One concerns the distribution of delinquent behavior throughout the social structure, and the other concerns correlates of anomie and community integration. Since our data are drawn from a particular community, they cannot settle disputes about the general distribution of delinquent behavior, but they can shed light upon the social location of youngsters who are engaged in delinquent modes of life. Our data will enable us to classify youngsters according to their knowledge of and participation in delinquent activities. Our analysis will focus upon the ways in which these activities "hang together" to form what might be called delinquent styles of life. We expect to be able to specify the kinds of activity that make up criminal, drug, and bopping subcultures, and to chart the location of these styles of delinquency in various age groups, ethnic groups, sections of the area, and the like. Once the distribution of delinquency has been carefully described, we will then seek explanations for the variance in rates of delinquency. We expect to find the major explanations in differences between groups in mobility aspirations, barriers to the realization of aspirations, and feelings of helplessness. Differences in community integration are expected to account for differences in the kinds of delinquency from geographical area to geographical area.

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[4] Richard A. Cloward and Lloyd E. Ohlin, Delinquency and Opportunity, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1960.

The Urban Political Machine: A Study of Institutional Change

The research proposal summarized below should be viewed as the first phase of an extensive longitudinal study into the structure and functions of an urban political machine. The central hypothesis in this study questions a popular assumption that the political machine is withering away because it has ceased to be the primary despenser of services that had once gone uncared for by official community organizations. We suggest that in the past decade or so the machine has relocated itself in the social structure and, that this relocation has been accompanied by a new definition of the goals and objectives of the institution.

If what we are suggesting turns out to be true, the implications for community-organization work with slum residents are enormous. For one thing, efforts to increase political participation by slum residents may have to be preceded by intensive socialization in current techniques required to participate successfully in the contemporary urban political machine.

Traditionally, a major function of the big-city political machine was to provide services and favors in return for votes to members of the community who lacked the facility to intrude themselves into the organizational web of bureaucratic agencies. Many of the functions performed by the machine paralleled the services available from official agencies; but, unlike official agencies, the machine humanized and personalized its services. It provided help and favors rather than justice and assistance. It sought to establish personal ties and friendships with individuals and families who believed themselves estranged from and neglected by the rest of society. The political worker was a friend, a personal contact, who sympathized because he shared and understood the problems of the people in his community.

We hypothesize that the machine has ceased to define itself by these types of service and that members of the slum community no longer turn to it for the performance of these functions. Some of the factors that seem helpful in explaining why these functions are no longer performed by the political machine are as follows:

1. The New Deal proliferated agencies dedicated to servicing the welfare needs of the underprivileged. Since World War II the growth in size and number of these agencies has accelerated.

2. Since the end of World War II only a negligible number of immigrants has arrived in the U.S. and settled in the large cities. With the greatly reduced immigration, the character of the lowest status groups in the large cities has also changed, for a substantial proportion of the traditional immigrant groups has been absorbed into the middle class.

We hypothesize that these events led to the relocation of the political machine in the social structure, and to a redefinition of the functions and types of relationship that it seeks to establish with its constituents. More specifically, we suggest that instead of concentrating its efforts on groups that occupy the lowest status in the society, the machine has turned its sights to groups which occupy intermediate status positions, such as members of the lower-middle and middle classes who desire to achieve political and social recognition and advancement.

We suggest that in its dealings with persons of higher status, the machine establishes a different type of relationship. The machine is no longer dealing with persons whose only barter goods are their individual votes, for persons with higher status do not deal with the machine as individuals. They first organize the resources of the community in order to enhance the position from which they bargain. Thus, instead of a benign, personal relationship, the tie between the machine and its clients is contractual: representatives of middle-class communities offer to deliver a body of votes in return for political rewards.

In our research, we propose to trace the strength of the political machine in New York City over the past three decades. From census data which are available, at least as far back as 1930, we shall sample census tracts stratified by such indicators of socioeconomic status as education, occupation, and income. We shall then group electoral districts to correspond to the simple census tracts and examine the relationship between socioeconomic status and the strength of the political machine.

The statistic that we have devised for measuring the strength of the political machine in any given area is the following: the machine operates at optimal strength when there is a one-to-one relationship between the number of registered party voters and the number of persons who vote the party ticket.

$$\frac{\text{Registered Party Members}}{\text{Persons Voting the Party Ticket}} = \frac{1}{1}$$

We anticipate the finding that through time, with marked acceleration from 1945 on, the correlation between machine strength and socioeconomic status will be gradually reduced. We expect to find that an inverse correlation existed in the 1930's between machine strength and socioeconomic status. In the post-World War II era we shall expect to find that this pattern has been disturbed, that the strength of the machine has increased in middle-class areas and decreased in lower-class districts.

Evaluating the Total Program

Research proposed to determine the effects of the total service program is of two types. The first, net-impact evaluation, is designed to link changes in rates of adolescent misbehavior to the presence of Mobilization for Youth in the area, without regard to the processes through which change occurs. The second is interpretative evaluation, which focuses upon the intermediate goals of action -- e.g., changes in objective opportunities, community integration, and social attitudes -- in order to determine the conditions responsible for behavioral changes.

Net-Impact Evaluation

Our plan requires that we first establish expected rates of several types of misbehavior for the service area at the beginning of the program (time 1) and at its conclusion (time 2) by means of multiple regression equations based on relationships between the rates of misbehavior and social and physical characteristics of census tracts throughout New York City. These expected rates will serve the function of a control for comparison with actual rates in the service area. That is, the difference between expected rates at the two observation points (time-1 and time-2) will indicate change which would have occurred in the Mobilization area in the absence of the service program. The difference between the actual rates at time-1 and time-2 will indicate gross change which in fact occurred. Change expected on the basis of regression predictions can be subtracted from the gross; the result indicates changes produced by the program and a small unexplained residual.

The net-impact model will be utilized for determining changes in rates of official juvenile delinquency, adolescents' reports of their misconduct, school dropouts, and truancy.[5]

Interpretive Analysis

Analysis of changes in rates of juvenile misconduct can provide a definitive answer to how successful Mobilization was in reducing juvenile delinquency in the area. But the way in which Mobilization seeks to bring about a reduction in the rate of juvenile delinquency is through producing other changes. It seeks, for example, to open job and educational opportunities for youth, to motivate youth to take advantage of expanding opportunities, and to increase the degree of community integration. These objectives might be called the "intermediate objectives" of the program. The success of the program rests as much upon attaining these objectives as upon a simple reduction in rates of delinquency, for the former are said to lead to the latter.

In order to assess Mobilization's success in attaining its intermediate objectives, we shall keep detailed accounts of the number and kinds of opportunities opened to youth, the number and characteristics of those who explored these opportunities, the characteristics of persons to whom various remedial programs were directed, the benefits obtained, and the like. Such records will enable us to link changes in the objective situation of Mobilization residents to reductions in juvenile delinquency.

Among the many changes which Mobilization hopes to bring about are changes in the beliefs and sentiments of residents of the area. These changes will be assessed through a second administration of the adult and adolescent

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[5] Isidor Chein developed the net-impact model, and his research project at New York University will apply it to three of these dependent variables. In addition, to ensure that changes through time in official rates of delinquency do not merely reflect altered police practices caused directly or indirectly by Mobilization, self-reports of misconduct by boys living in a sample of New York City areas will be gathered and analyzed by the Mobilization research team.

questionnaires at a future point in time, when the full effects of the program should have been felt. Using the surveys which were conducted during the planning period as a baseline, we will be able to note any changes in beliefs and sentiments, their magnitude, and segments of the populuation within which they occurred. We shall also be able to note any unexpected changes, either positive or negative, which took place between administrations of the questionnaires. Changes in beliefs and sentiments can then be linked to changes in objective conditions, the activities of Mobilization for Youth, and ultimately to the reduction of juvenile delinquency.

Interpretive analysis, then, will serve as an important supplement to net-impact analysis. By assessing the degree to which the intermediate objectives of the program were met, we are enabled to study the process whereby Mobilization produced change. Should the program fail to reduce the rate of juvenile delinquency, analysis will enable us to locate the reasons for the failure and thus contribute to knowledge of the processes of social change.

The Evaluation of Specific Programs

The proposals for evaluation set forth thus far treat the program of services more or less as a totality. A plan of evaluation should, however, also focus upon the relative effectiveness of various specific services within the total program. We propose to approach this problem in two ways. First, by developing various forms for systematic record keeping (e.g., intake forms, disposition forms, process records, etc.) in each of the service programs, it will be possible to make evaluatory statements about a number of aspects of each service. The primary task here is to determine in advance the types of data to be gathered routinely by practitioners in the conduct of their daily operations. Second, some of the service programs lend themselves to evaluation through rigorous experimental designs. Where there is possible, such designs will generally be employed.

Records Development Unit

A large-scale action program requires a rational, economical system of recording its activities and making summary reports available to staff members. Establishment and maintenance of records is, of course, an administrative-supervisory responsibility necessary for the control and continuous evaluation of an internally diverse program such as Mobilization for Youth. Development of communication systems between Mobilization and participating programs directed by independent agencies is likewise a function of the administration of the several agencies, together with the liaison committees established to coordinate activities.

We suggest, however, that Mobilization for Youth's evaluative research responsibility requires particular attention to the development of standardized, routine recording and communicating systems. We propose, therefore, the establishment, prior to the inauguration of action endeavors, of a Records Development Unit to help administrators and supervisors in planning for the adequate record-keeping systems which will provide the data necessary for evaluation. During the action phase this unit will also be responsible for periodic inspection of records, assembling special data on program developments, and assessing and reporting relevant changes in the project community.

The contributions of a Records Development Unit might include methods of recording intake, attendance, and process data, analyzing special professional issues; inspecting records; and the like. Specific innovations will of course be the responsibility of the Unit itself, to be planned in advance of field activities.

Intake data: A question for every experimental program is whether or not it serves its target population. Often this question cannot be answered definitively or, if answered in the negative, the information arrives too late in the history of a short-term project for administrators to change their practices.

One of the central themes of our action program is the need for adapting service-giving systems and systems of professional technology to the characteristics of the clients to be served. We have noted in some detail that services, if they are to be effective, must be organized and structured in a way that makes them congenial to those for whom the services are intended. In this connection, we noted particularly that programs of community organization, social group work, social casework, and formal education which are designed to help low income groups often turn out to be incompatible with the attitudes, values, and behavioral patterns of these groups. As a consequence, a high degree of self-selection occurs, and thus the groups which ultimately participate in the services differ from those for which the services were intended.

We have emphasized the necessity of reaching the most socially deprived and disabled groups in the project area — the low-income newcomers (Puerto Ricans and Negroes, especially), the unskilled, irregularly employed groups. These groups often do not become involved in social services, partly because of socially induced attitudes of defeat, and partly because the services are not attractive and congenial to them. If the Mobilization program is to succeed, we must overcome these problems. Initially, we must ensure that these low-income groups, rather than other groups, are involved in the program.

The methods customarily used to assess the extent to which a service reaches the groups it has been designed to serve are special surveys of program participants and analysis of intake statistics concerning such individual characteristics as age, sex, color, and the like. The survey approach is costly and so time-consuming that it often delays changes in recruitment procedures. Intake statistics too often produce data not entirely sufficient to answer the question at issue.

Mobilization for Youth certainly will want to know the age, sex, ethnic, and socioeconomic status distributions of children and adults served by or participating in its various programs. The Records Development Unit will work with administrators and supervisors in developing a standard list of such characteristics, useful for both action and evaluation, which will be obtained for all program participants. However, such data alone will not clearly identify the residents of the Lower East Side which certain of Mobilization's subprograms most want to reach. To give one example, we want to involve lower-class children and adults who are not oriented to the middle class as well as those who are. If intake statistics indicate that individuals with low incomes are under-represented in programs, administrators will be alerted to the need to revise recruitment procedures. If, on the other hand, low-income individuals are using programs in large numbers, the question of class orientation will still be moot. Participants may be largely drawn from residents with aspirations toward the middle class, or they may be from a potentially more stable lower-class population.

A partial answer to this question usually emerges over a period of time from interactions of staff members with participants. However, the information often comes too late. The needs of the action staff for immediate assessment and of the research staff for systematic data suggest that intake interviews should routinely incorporate such information.

Prolonged intake interviews would be tangential to the main goals of social action and a burden to the action staff; they also could discourage people from joining programs. An alternative possibility is that the Records

Development Unit will be able to develop, from questionnaire items employed in our community surveys, brief intake instruments pertinent to the issue of class of orientation. Utilization of such a standard instrument, in conjunction with data on survey responses for the area as a whole, would provide data permitting rapid administrative evaluation of the effectiveness of recruitment procedure. It would also provide the research staff with systematic information making it possible to determine the degree of Mobilization's success in reaching target populations.

Class of orientation is only one of several factors related to Mobilization's service goals. The Records Development Unit will be responsible for defining these factors, working with the action staff, and developing means of collecting systematic information bearing on them.

Attendance information: A second essential group of records pertains to attendance. We include here not only counts of the number present at, say, a group-work session, but also information concerning the consistency of participation of various categories of people and the dropouts that inevitably occur, whatever the program.

The Records Development Unit will assist the action staff in setting up an efficient attendance record system. It will also explore the possibility of establishing routine ways of assessing reasons for withdrawal from participation.

Because the Lower East Side contains a residentially mobile population, many dropouts will result from families leaving the neighborhood. It may be possible to estimate dropouts due to residential mobility from the "in-and-out" books maintained by each of the public schools. These books record movement of children (and families with children) from the Lower East Side to other sections of New York City and elsewhere. This information would be useful to action administrators evaluating dropout rates and would also provide the evaluation staff with a list of adolescents who had moved out of the Lower East Side during the period of service. The names could then be processed through police, court, and Social Service Exchange records for information on delinquency and contacts with social agencies. If such data were not assembled, evaluation would have to rely on incomplete information concerning the behavior and adjustments of individuals involved in Mobilization's programs.

Process records: The content of the running records of casework, group work, and community organization programs will vary considerably, depending upon the nature of the service and the clientele. The Records Development Unit will assist the action staff in defining the types of material to be gathered in such records, including a description of the clients (this merges with intake data), the service process, and the workers' judgment of outcome. The emphasis here is on developing means for reliable description of developing situations with standards of detail which will permit comparisons of running records between workers in the same program and between different programs.

It is recognized that process records are sensitive instruments the primary purpose of which is to enable workers to make sound judgments concerning work problems, and that research interests cannot take priority. The emphasis, rather, is on giving assistance to the action staff in developing and maintaining systematic accounts.

Special professional issues: Systematic running records can provide information about special problems that appear in the course of a program and also basic data for making judgments about the utility of innovative professional techniques. We expect that action administrators and supervisors will encounter many special problems about which they will want information on which to base decisions. We also anticipate recurring administrative needs to judge the efficacy of experimental action techniques. The Records Development Unit will be available to assemble the data required, insofar as it is available in running records, and to assist the action staff in devising efficient ways of gathering data about unanticipated developments.

If systematic running records are kept throughout the program, they will constitute a rich source of data for case process analyses. The development of running records which will allow special studies of these varieties are especially desirable when new techniques are being tested.

Inspection of records: The Records Development Unit will inspect the intake, attendance, and running records periodically, to assist supervisors and workers in maintaining systematic and comparable reports. The diversity of programs requires a centralized inspection program to maintain data suitable for program comparisons.

Independent activities: The Records Development Unit will also perform activities independent of the action staff, most of which will provide information directly relevant to action issues. Among those will be presenting to the staff statistical information available from other agencies and assessing and interpreting changes in the project community. The Unit will also maintain files of information exclusively for use in research evaluation.

Public and private agencies in New York City, some of them in the Lower East Side, publish a great variety of statistical information which permits comparison of the project area with the city, borough, and other New York neighborhoods. For example, the New York City Youth Board continuously receives delinquency statistics from the courts; the New York City Department of Welfare makes periodic studies of caseloads; local settlements collect information about their service areas. A responsibility of the Records Development Unit will be to collect data of relevance to service programs, organize them in a way that bears on practice issues, and present such information to the staff. The Unit, in other words, will act as an agent for the action staff in assessing national, city, and local trends which affect day-to-day project work.

The Records Development Unit will preserve a limited number of records for the use of the research staff in evaluating the programs. A project such as Mobilization for Youth can be expected to encounter many incidents impinging on its program and service area; the research evaluation staff will want to have a file of newspaper accounts, investigation records, etc., to use in interpreting the possible influence on the success of the program of such extraneous events as highly publicized ethnic conflicts, political decisions which arouse public interest, and public criticisms of project activity. The Records Development Unit will act only as an archivist with respect to such events. Insofar as they directly affect the action staff, interpretations of such events should come from administrators rather than from the Unit.

Services to cooperating agencies: The services of the Records Development Unit will be available to independent agencies participating in Mobilization's programs. The development of standardized record systems would benefit all agencies involved in a common undertaking. However, the Unit will recognize the independence of these agencies and will provide assistance on requests received through formal liaison channels.

Experimental Approaches

As we noted earlier, a number of specific services in the Mobilization program lend themselves to evaluation by rigorous experimental methods. It is, of course, somewhat premature to present details of design, for evaluatory procedures will have to depend upon the problems and difficulties encountered in actually getting a given service underway. We can, however, refer generally to the way in which we propose to evaluate such programs.

In some instances, our program of basic research will be of great value in permitting us to evalute specific services. For example, we noted in an earlier section that we propose to conduct a study of the process of social reintegration of juvenile offenders released from training schools. The sample of offenders to be observed in the basic research will not be returning to the project area. In connection with the Neighborhood Services Centers, however, it is planned to provide special services to offenders returning to the project area. Services to such individual will include efforts to buttress institutionally acquired motivation for conformity; intervene in the offender's social situation in order to provide access to resources essential to convential adjustment; and provide training and guidance requisite to the optimal use of these resources.

The inclusion of this program in the structure of the services provides a unique opportunity to test the adequacy of our theory of intervention to prevent recidivism. The data gathered on offenders in the basic research sample will constitute a standard against which the success of services to offenders in the project area itself can be judged. The basic research program should enable us to identify significant elements in the social reintegration process; the service program will enable us to test the importance of these elements by determining whether significant changes take place in the reintegration process when these same elements are altered.

A second possibility for an experimental approach arises from the expectation that applications for service in a number of the program areas will exceed our resources. It may therefore be possible in some instances to randomize intake, thus establishing natural samples whose subsequent behavior can then be observed and compared with that of persons not selected. The prospect of such an approach is good in connection with the work programs, for it is anticipated that many more youngsters will wish to participate in the work programs that can be accommodated. The Homework Helper Program also promises to provide us with the possibility of a natural experiment. Once this program is underway, we expect that there will be a surplus of applications for both tutoring positions (high school students) and tutelage (elementary school pupils). It may therefore be possible to establish randomly selected samples in both sections of the program. This will permit us to determine whether persons selected to be tutors are influenced beneficially (progressively higher grades, fewer dropouts, etc.) as compared with those not selected, and whether those who are tutored show improvement over those not tutored. In addition, we may be able to control the pairing of tutors and tutored so as to determine the conditions under which the program works best. For example, suppose that we wished to study the relative importance of social-class orientation on the success of this program. Although both the tutors and the tutored will be drawn from low-income families, subjective class of orientation may vary. Thus we may ask whether a low-income elementary-school student who takes lower-class values as a frame of reference learns better from a tutor who has the same frame of reference or from one who takes middle-class values as a frame of reference. By varying the characteristics of pairs, in other words, we can determine the influence of important interviewing variables.

In order to handle the evaluation of specific programs, we propose to establish a Program Evaluation Division. Work in this division will be coordinated with the basic research program and with the program of net impact evaluation. The responsibilities of this Division will be twofold: to make continuing decisions as to which specific services should be evaluated, and to develop evaluation strategies in accord with the particular characteristics of a given service.

Chapter VI

TRAINING PROGRAMS

We propose that a comprehensive series of training programs be instituted, closely tied to all aspects of the action and research programs. These programs will focus on recruitment, in-service training, and professional preparation of future social workers, teachers, and vocational counselors.

There can be no question about the importance of an encompassing training program. Whatever the orientation of the action programs, a training program will be required and will have to be concerned with the following problems:

1. Disseminating data gathered in the action programs which are applicable elsewhere, particuarly data that are relevant to preventing or alleviating delinquency in lower-class urban communities.

2. Helping staff to learn about and understand the community and the life situation and problems of its inhabitants.

3. Acting upon, testing, and evaluating the theory of delinquency which underlies and gives direction to the total Mobilization undertaking.

4. Developing skill and effectiveness in all staff members responsible for carrying out the actual program.

5. Recruiting and training people to carry out the tasks outlined by Mobilization in other places and at other times.

Elsewhere we have discussed the programs planned for teachers and vocational counselors. Our plan for teacher training includes laboratory schools to give student teachers the opportunity to learn at first hand the realities of teaching culturally deprived pupils. In-service training will include a School-Community-Relations Course which encourages home visiting in order to develop closer relations between teachers and lower-income parents. In addition, workshops will be offered which focus on the techniques of language instruction, the early identification and correction of reading difficulties, and methods of improving verbal and cognitive skills in lower-income youngsters.[1] Our program for guidance, placement, and vocational personnel will include an orientation-training program, in-service "booster" courses, seminars, and fellowship assistance in cooperation with local universities. Emphasis will be placed upon the life styles of low-income families, their work needs, and the effect of such needs upon the counseling process.[2] Here we shall emphasize the training of social workers.

It is proper to inquire about the extent to which the proposed training program for social workers differs from other such training programs already tried or currently in existence. What contribution will it make to knowledge, understanding, and competence?

The Distinctiveness of the Program

One of the most distinctive features of the proposed training program is that it will emphasize the performance of social-welfare tasks and the delivery of social-welfare goods and services in the context of a distinctive theoretical position, upon which the action program is based. These theoretical foundations may be summarized as follows: The deviant behavior and social malfunctioning of lower-class individuals, families, and social groups can be explained to a significant extent by their lack of opportunities to behave in conforming, socially acceptable, and rewarding ways. This is to say, much deficient functioning is in fact due to deficiencies located in the social system rather than in individual personality systems. More attention should therefore be paid to direct manipulation and modification of the social environment in any organized effort to halt social pathology and enhance social functioning. The objective conditions of life for most lower-class persons provide very few opportunities for improvement of life chances. The few opportunities which are available (education, welfare services, etc.) are not always organized or provided in ways which are congenial with the social characteristics and life style of lower-class persons.

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[1] For a detailed description of public-school training programs, see Appendix A-2.

[2] For a detailed description of vocational-personnel training programs, see Appendix A-1.

Not only will students and all other staff need to learn Mobilization's orientation in its own terms, but related background subject matter will also be emphasized. From the standpoint of the requirements it imposes upon a training program, perhaps the most significant aspect of Mobilization is that staff activity will be committed to delivering direct and concrete services. It will also be oriented toward direct action to mitigate social problems more than to change individual attitudes and perceptions (although this will be attempted). The Mobilization program assumes that an important, and often neglected, way of helping people is to assist them directly to make effective use of such community institutions as housing projects, welfare agencies, and the like. Training must emphasize the skills, techniques, and content that will make it possible for staff and students to carry out these tasks.

The action program, particularly the part conducted through the Neighborhood Service Centers, requires that special status and emphasis be given to a role model which sees the social worker functioning as a "broker" in the arena of social services, directly intervening to bring the client and the community's institutions and services into a more congenial and beneficial juxtaposition. This implies attention to both the needs of the client and ways in which the structure of social services must be changed to meet those needs. This model is by no means a new one; it is and has been within the purview and practice of the social worker. However, because of the ways in which social services have been organized (and supporting ideologies conceptualized), the "broker" function of the social worker has tended to become secondary. Other ways of working (counseling, for example) have carried more prestige, have been more functional to the agency's view of itself, and more congenial to the style of the service and the type of client sought or favored. What the Mobilization program proposes and offers to the field of social welfare is a point of view about service and an actual system of services, the effective implementation of which requires greater emphasis upon the "broker" role model than is usually given. Thus a role which is included and permitted in prevailing theory and practice now becomes indispensable and prescribed for practice; a role which now tends to be in the background and secondary moves to the foreground and becomes primary; a role which may be derogated as "political" becomes elevated on the basis of a different social diagnosis.

Although we have tried to develop an action program in close harmony with our theoretical orientation, logic cannot always anticipate or describe reality. Different theoretical claims and definitions of social reality have a way of modifying the nature of the relationship between our theoretical commitments and the shapes that practice often assumes. It is within this qualified context that the "distinctiveness" of our approach must be viewed. Other explanations for and treatments of social malfunctioning have not ignored the social realities we describe and the explanations we propose. Social-work educators and practitioners have tried, with varying effectiveness, to develop methods and adapt services to the needs and life situations of lower-class groups. They have asserted the importance of the social environment and have tried to develop its application to practice. However, they have not always been effective in working with lower-class people and in translating the social dimension into practice. One difficulty has been a tendency to act as if the social environment were self-evident, as if recognizing its existence were equivalent to understanding it, taking it into account, and making use of it in practice. This, of course, is not the case. What is special in Mobilization's program is its emphasis on the "social" aspect of the "psycho-social" approach to which social-work education is committed as its point of departure and special concern. Moreover, it specifies and elaborates and expresses this emphasis in practical terms.

The Structure of the Training Program

The special character of Mobilization for Youth (it is and is not an agency in the usual sense but must be regarded as such in many important respects) requires that the training of its staff be viewed as a means of achieving high-quality services "here and now" as well as a means of developing professional persons who can utilize what they have learned about the prevention and treatment of delinquency in other places and at other times.

Both in degree and in kind, Mobilization represents a unique and exciting opportunity for education and training. It is actually a setting in which theoretical framework, concrete social services, research and evaluation are all forcefully apparent and interrelated. Moreover, it is geared to change, to developing new services, to evaluation, testing, and theory building.

The training program itself will have two major aspects — in-service staff training and student training.[3] The in-service training program will also be directed to staff assigned to programs conducted by Mobilization or contracted to already existing community agencies. Training will also be available on a volunteer basis for non-Mobilization staff in cooperating agencies. The physical separation of contract staff members often produces the problem of maintaining accountability without inhibiting innovation and creativity. An in-service training program would help this "detached" staff to maintain an appropriate level of accountability to and identification with Mobilization.

Student Training

In addition to training professionals already in the field, in order to develop and adapt their methods and skills to the prevention and treatment of delinquency, we need to recruit new persons. The widely documented and bemoaned shortage of personnel in the health and welfare professions forces the conclusion that the most constructive, if not realistic, approach would be to attempt to interest and train new people rather than to try to attract staff away from already understaffed social agencies. One of the most

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3. The in-service training program will supplement, not supplant, the training and educational aspects inherent in and accruing from the processes of administration and supervision of any sound social-welfare agency structure.

effective ways of achieving this is by establishing an extensive program for field-work training of graduate students in social work which would, among other things, make provision for adequate fellowship grants to students and a superior level of field instruction. In respect to the former, although work commitments in consideration for fellowship assistance are reasonable and sound in principle, they may not always work well in practice or fulfill their intended purpose. The same results are sometimes achieved without commitments. Thus the question of commitment has been left to future consideration.

Instruction in Mobilization's distinctive theoretical orientation is necessary to make the field-work training experience worthwhile, but such instruction must be built upon the existing patterns and orientations of graduate schools of social work. Schools of social work seek to protect their students by making sure that certain basic educational controls and content are present in all student training. They will understandably be concerned that students be trained in such a way that they may be able to function as social workers in a variety of settings, not in just one. A financially sound fellowship program, an exciting action program, and superior field instruction will, however, maximize the opportunity for innovation and experimentation within this framework. Social-work schools will doubtless be more amenable to modifications and variations in field-work training programs when these conditions are present. These conditions will also select the good students and create a favorable image of Mobilization.

It is proposed that Mobilization make provision for field-work training of about 40 graduate social-work students. Field instruction will be adapted to the attainment of a high level of knowledge, understanding, and skill in casework, group work, community organization, and research. It will focus specifically on the adaptation of these social-work methods for preventing juvenile delinquency.

Because of the experimental nature of the program, the calibre of field instruction would have to be outstanding. This could be brought about more easily if salary levels were attractive and compared favorably with those that obtain at present.

The conventional and most heavily relied-upon method used in student field-work instruction is the tutorial or individual supervisory-conference method. Recently, however, there has been growing interest in making greater use of group methods in training and supervision (e.g., group discussions, case presentations and analyses, lectures and presentations followed by group discussion, criticism and evaluation, visual aids and demonstration workshops, role playing).

In view of the novelty of the program, as well as its dispersion throughout the community, we believe that the form of training which could most effectively support and protect the student from the uncertainties inherent in a new and broadly based program would be the student unit. Most social-work students receive their field-work instruction and experience individually or as one of two students assigned to a qualified agency staff member, who acts as their field-work instructor. In the student-unit system, an agency staff member or a school staff member assigned to the agency acts as field instructor to a group composed ordinarily of six students. Under these circumstances, field instruction and certain other related duties constitute the major responsibility for such a staff member. (It is recommended that the Mobilization supervisor's student load be five students — to enable her to have a functional, as well as a teaching relationship to the agency.) The unit arrangement offers certain unique educational advantages to student and instructor (e.g., it permits the use of group methods as well as individual instruction).

Thus it is proposed that five to seven student-training units of about five students each be set up in accordance with school standards and practices related to structure, organization, and staffing. It may be desirable to attach four of these units to the projected four Neighborhood Service Centers. In effect, these units would provide primarily for students with a major interest in casework. Another unit might take advantage of the close inter-institutional relationships on the Lower East Side — e.g., by placing a social-work student unit in a public-school setting. The remaining units would be organized around the other proposed action programs and provide for the learning needs of students whose major interests were in group work or community organization. The unit method will not be used in research training, although opportunities may be provided for group meetings of research trainees.

The student training-unit form will provide an opportunity to utilize and experiment with group supervisory methods. Field teaching will also include formal instruction through lectures and seminars in subject matter related to the theory and practice of the action program. Such subject matter would include deviant behavior and the social structure; social class as a variable influencing and determining the shape and quality of social services; the understanding and treatment of individual, family, group, and community needs and problems; the effect of organizational structure upon service goals; ethnic and racial minorities; social-change theories; community power structure; and adapting and developing social-work methods to suit the needs and predispositions of lower-class individuals and groups.

This content will supplement the classroom, extend it to the field, and cover subject matter which may not always be covered fully in classes. For example, there will be an emphasis on such subject areas as political science; local government; the organization and structure of such community agencies as welfare, housing, the courts and police, schools; community power structure; theories of social change. Mobilization's view of social problems and social services requires that workers be not only dynamic and flexible in their approach but also well informed and knowledgeable about social conditions, the social structure of the community, and the lives and living conditions of its inhabitants. It goes without saying that staff will be encouraged, if not required, to learn to speak the language of the non-English speaking constituents.

The large size of the student group also makes it feasible to arrange seminar courses and institutes jointly with one or more schools of social work. It may even be possible to arrange courses for which credit will be granted. In effect, then, student-training units might be geared to developing and experimenting with new forms, methods, and techniques of professional education. The new and experimental nature of the services through and for which students are being trained will themselves encourage complementary innovation in educational methods.

The significant role of research in the over-all program provides an important ingredient in training for social work. Students assigned to Mobilization will enjoy a rare opportunity for learning in a setting where practice is joined with study and research.

Student training in research may be seen in any one of the following ways:

1. Mobilization for Youth can offer an ideal testing ground for the

thesis that field-work training can be offered in research just as it is now offered in casework, group work, etc. This would represent a new development (or perhaps a revival of an old and forgotten one) in social-work education and could well become a stable and responsible way of developing manpower for the research operations of Mobilization and other agencies.

2. Group research projects could be organized and set up by Mobilization for second-year students who could then use the experience to earn credit in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the M. S. degree.

3. The field-work experience could help make all students and staff aware of the place and uses of research in practice.

In-Service Training

This program might include institutes and courses for all Mobilization staff, sponsored jointly by a school of social work and Mobilization. The content of such courses would probably vary depending upon sponsorship.

The training program offered for staff in "detached" programs would in large part overlap the training program for other staff. However, particular emphasis will be placed upon developing skill in carrying out the programs of Mobilization and sustaining close identification and connection with it. Included in this program would be regularly scheduled conferences, seminars, lectures, discussions, and workshops in program skills, techniques, etc.

The training of those who will train indigenous community leaders in the Organizing the Unaffiliated program requires special planning and a flexible approach. This program represents a new emphasis in community organizaion in that the "action system" and the "client system" are one and the same. Much of the experience in community organization consists of situations in which the individuals and groups participating are doing so in behalf of others, who need services. The actual participants are presumably not direct beneficiaries of their own efforts. Staff which will train indigenous leaders for community-organization tasks in a sense will have to be trained for "self-liquidation." It is therefore difficult to project in detail the structure and content of this aspect of the training program. Much will depend upon the day-to-day experiences and the activities which must be performed by indigenous community leaders. The content and organization of this aspect of the training program will also reflect anticipated shifts in specific programs and short-term goals. Basic core content would, however, necessarily consist of skills in effective participation in organizational life, leadership techniques, etc., as well as knowledge about the organization of local government and local institutions, administrative law and political science, particularly as it applies to local government, community power structure, etc.

Although the training programs related to the elementary and secondary schools are outside the purview of this discussion, attention will be given to training some social-work staff to provide concrete services to teachers and pupils. For example, groups of "difficult" children referred by teachers will be served in the school buildings during school hours by specially trained group workers (see Small Groups program, Appendix A-2). Social workers will also be trained in home visiting and parent contacts in order to assist teachers enrolled in the School-Community Relations Course.

An important aspect of any training program and one which is especially consonant with the long-range aims of Mobilization is the preparation and publication of material "for the trade." Such material will appear as we move along and as experience dictates. For example, the proposed Coffee Shops and related programs might lead to a manual on recreational and leisure-time programming which takes into account the influence of ethnic and social-class background factors — matters hardly considered in available materials.

Personnel

A Department of Personnel Recruitment and Training will be established to undertake a broad-scale program for social-work, teaching, and vocational personnel. Recruitment will entail advertisement and direct communication with undergraduate and graduate students in colleges throughout the country, as well as contact through employment agencies and professional journals. Particular attention will, of course, be devoted to working relationships with nearby undergraduate institutions. The local community will be searched intensively for staff to fill the wide variety of semi-professional and indigenous positions which the Mobilization program requires. The Department will work closely with other groups recruiting for each profession, such as the Recruitment Committee of the National Association of Social Workers.

The Department of Personnel will screen all social-work and vocational staff to be hired by Mobilization directly or by agencies with contracts for Mobilization programs. In the latter instance, once the worker has been approved by the Department, the contracting agency shall make the final decision to hire.

The Department will develop the content and supervise the administration of the pre-service and in-service courses of Mobilization, and will organize new programs as the need is demonstrated. It will work closely with colleges and graduate schools, as well as with persons in the field responsible for the functional areas in which the training is to take place. Thus the School-Community Relations Course will be developed by the Department of Personnel, a teacher-training institution, and the local public-school Coordinator of In-Service Training. The Department will also coordinate the training of the various professional groups, with particular attention to those areas in which the content is generic to a number of different specialties.

A Department Chief will supervise the entire recruitment and training operation. Hired by and responsible to Mobilization, he will be a social worker with extensive experience in training. Each unit in the department — teacher education, social-work training, vocational training, and recruitment — will be led by a Division Supervisor. The supervisor of the first three units will be appointed jointly by Mobilization and an appropriate professional school. This will ensure the integration of Mobilization training with university education and will permit the granting of graduate credit to the trainees. One full-time specialist in research will be hired whose qualifications and salary are equivalent to those of staff members responsible for the field instruction of students in casework, group work, and community organization. In addition, the recruitment chief will have a full-time assistant.

Course instructors, field supervisors, and consultants in various areas will be available to the Department. For example, a half-time psychiatrist and a half-time sociologist will be available to social-work students who train at the Neighborhood Service Centers. An educator, a social worker, and a sociologist will be responsible for the School-Community Relations Course. Wherever feasible, interdisciplinary interaction and education will be encouraged.

Chapter VII

ADMINISTRATION

Board of Directors

Mobilization for Youth is a membership, non-profit corporation operating under the Membership Corporation Law of the State of New York. The governing body is a Board of Directors, at present composed of 34 members, including five officers -- a Chairman, two Vice-Chairmen, a Treasurer, and a Secretary. The officers and members of the Board are elected at the Annual Meeting pursuant to the By-Laws of the organization.[1]

Of the total Board, 22 members represent the social agencies, churches, schools, and other institutions in the project area. The remaining 11 are persons who were recommended for membership on the Board by the Dean of the New York School of Social Work of Columbia University. Among the members of the Board are outstanding leaders in the fields of the arts, education, finance, health, industry, intergroup relations, the judiciary, labor, law, religion, research, social science, and social welfare.

The Board of Directors is the policy-making body and has all of the usual powers and duties of a governing board including the appointment of the Project Directors. Among other duties, the Board of Directors will approve an annual itemized budget for the total project. The Board will also enter into contracts with participating agencies and organizations covering those project

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1. The By Laws of Mobilization for Youth, Inc., are included in Appendix Ad.

services and research programs which the agencies and institutions will operate. Modifications in the budget may be made by the Project Directors within any one program, provided that there is no change in the objectives or appropriation for that program. Any increase or decrease in budget for a program, however, will require action of the Board.

Payments will be made in accordance with contracts and budgets adopted by the Board on authorization of the Treasurer or his authorized delegates. The Treasurer will also be responsible for ascertaining that an appropriate accounting system is maintained. The Board will arrange for annual audit by independent Certified Public Accountants.

The Board of Directors has an Executive Committee, and other committees will be established by the Board and appointed by the Chairman in the areas of administration, action, and research as deemed necessary. Any committees related to research will be established in consultation with the Research Center of the New York School of Social Work of Columbia University.

Social - Policy Council

Because the proposed demonstration will have significance on national, state, and municipal levels, it is planned to appoint a Council with the broadest possible representation of top-level individuals in all related areas of activity. The Council will be advisory and serve on an *ad hoc* basis. Either the Council as a whole or individual members will be consulted on pertinent issues as they develop. Members will receive periodic progress reports on the entire project.

Administrative Structure

The project will have three Project Directors,[2] one carrying responsibility for general administration, a second for the direction of the action programs, and a third for the direction of the research and evaluation programs. All major decisions -- whether in the area of administration, action, or research -- shall be reached by consensus. The Project Directors shall have access to the Board of Directors and to its various committees. The Project Director in charge of general administration shall have the responsibility of communicating the decisions and recommendations of the Project Directors to the Board of Directors, and shall bear ultimate responsibility for the implementation of all Board policies. This arrangement ensures both accountability and integration of the various facets of the total program. In addition, collective decision-making will give the multifaceted project the advantage of joint deliberation by three experts, who bring complementary strengths, perspectives, and experience to bear upon the many problems with which the project will be faced. This arrangement, which requires close working relationships among the Project Directors, has already been tested during the two years of the planning phase and has proved practical and effective.

The Administrative Director will carry special responsibility for working with the Board and its committees. He will also have responsibility for fiscal administration, for relations with agencies and organizations financing the project as well as with related federal, state, and municipal agencies and departments, and for negotiating and processing program contracts and supervising their fiscal compliance. He will develop and maintain a community-relations program for the project and its reporting and information services. He will be in charge of all personnel in the Department of Administration.

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[2] Profiles appear in Appendix Ad.

The Action Director, while relating directly to the Board as stated above, will work particularly with Board committees in the Action area. He will have over-all direction of all action programs, including the hiring and supervision of all program personnel, and responsibility for all direct expenditures for action programs. He will negotiate program contracts in collaboration with the Administrative Director and will be responsible for their program compliance.

The Research Director, while also relating directly to the Board, will work particularly with the Research Committee. He will administer contract research programs through the Research Center of the New York School of Social Work of Columbia University and, in this capacity, will give over-all direction to the Research program, including hiring staff and overseeing the expenditure of funds.

Staff

A corps of highly qualified staff in the fields of administration, casework, education, employment, evaluation, fiscal services, group work, training, and research will be recruited to direct and guide various aspects of the program. Similarly high standards will be established for personnel functioning on the supervisory and practitioner levels.

Consultants with special expertness will be hired from time to time as needed.

Relationship with Contract Agencies

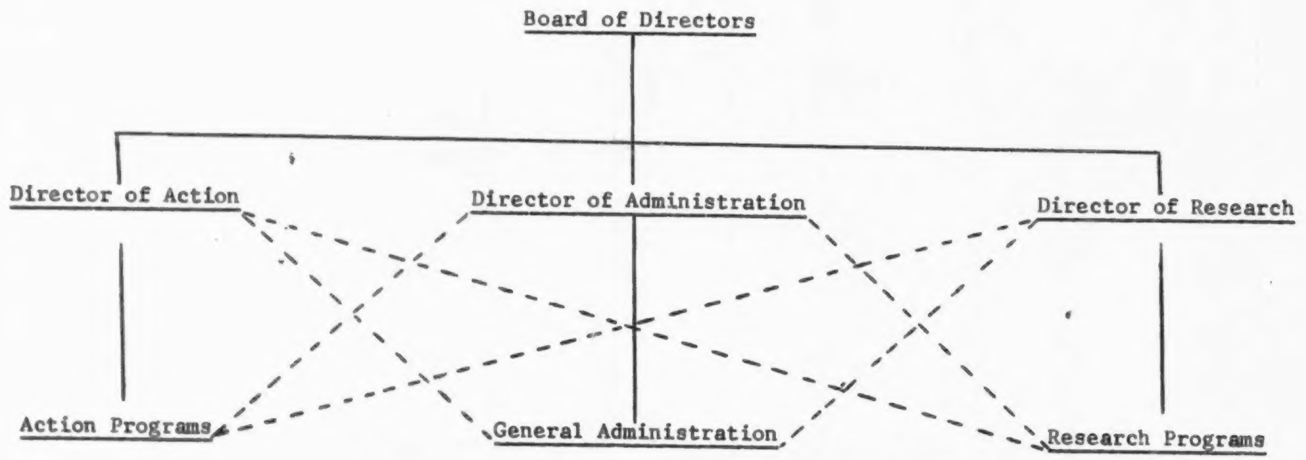
As indicated in the application, a number of action programs will be carried out by agencies on a contractual basis. In such instances, criteria for the programs will be developed and reflected in the contracts. Contract compliance will be examined as to qualifications of staff, substantive quality of the program offered, and observance of fiscal procedures. A special committee of the Board will be appointed for the purpose of making recommendations regarding the granting of contracts. This committee will be composed of members of the Board who are not affiliated with the contracting agencies.

A special contract will be arranged with the Research Center of the New York School of Social Work of Columbia University to carry out the research and evaluation plans, which they have prepared and which are contained in this proposal.

Sources of Funds

In addition to the National Institute of Mental Health, funds are being sought from other federal, state, and municipal agencies as well as private foundations. In all probability, support will be obtained from several sources and on an over-all design for relationships between the various sources and the project will be developed.

MFY ORGANIZATIONAL CHART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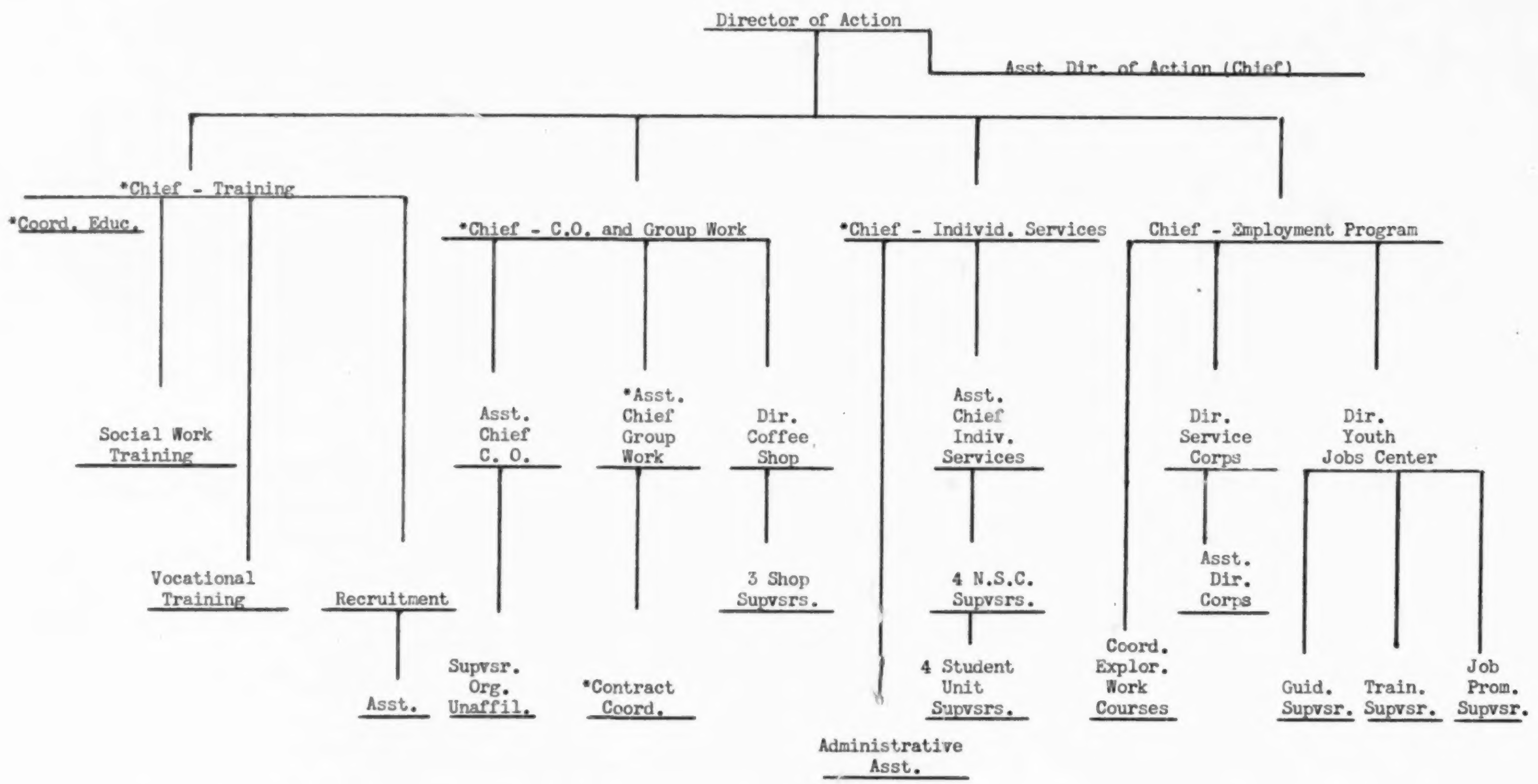
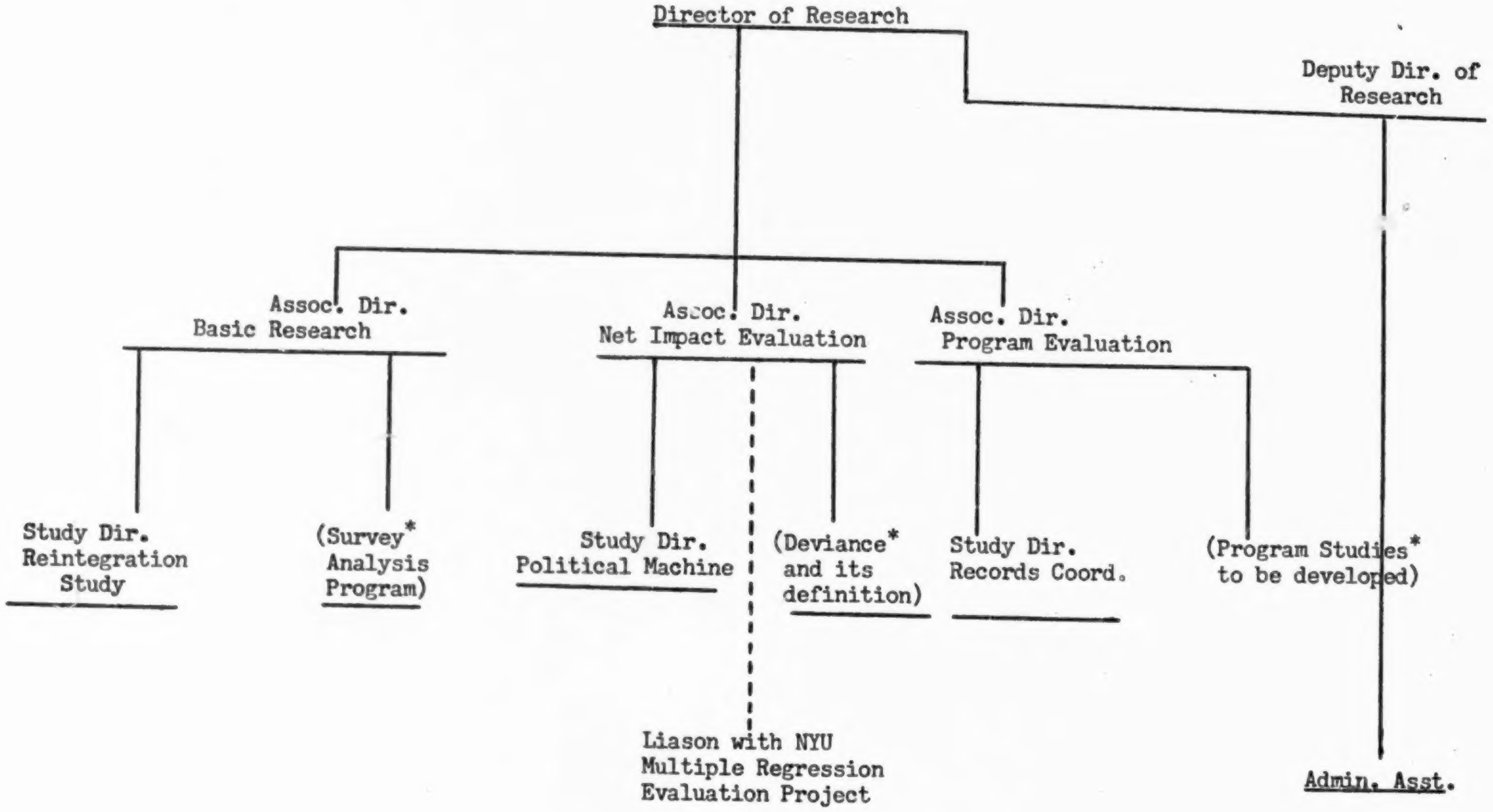
Director of Action
Director of Administration
Director of Research
Action Programs
General Administration
Research Programs

ACTION CHART


Director of Action
Asst. Dir. of Action (Chief)
*Chief - Training
*Coord. Educ.
Social Work Training
Vocational Training
Recruitment
Asst.
*Chief - C.O. and Group Work
Asst. Chief C. O.
Supvsr. Org. Unaffil.
*Asst. Chief Group Work
*Contract Coord.
Dir. Coffee Shop
3 Shop Supvsrs.
*Chief - Individ. Services
Asst. Chief Indiv. Services
4 N.S.C. Supvsrs.
4 Student Unit Supvsrs.
Administrative Asst.
Chief - Employment Program
Coord. Explor. Work Courses
Dir. Service Corps
Asst. Dir. Corps
Dir. Youth Jobs Center
Guid. Supvsr.
Train. Supvsr.
Job Prom. Supvsr.

*Responsible for contract compliance in respective program areas

RESEARCH CHART


Director of Research
Deputy Dir. of Research
Assoc. Dir. Basic Research
Assoc. Dir. Net Impact Evaluation
Assoc. Dir. Program Evaluation
Study Dir. Reintegration Study
(Survey* Analysis Program)
Study Dir. Political Machine
(Deviance* and its definition)
Study Dir. Records Coord.
(Program Studies* to be developed)
Liason with NYU Multiple Regression Evaluation Project
Admin. Asst.

*Assoc. Dirs. will conduct one study as well as supervise other studies in their areas.

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Appendix A - 1

THE WORLD OF WORK

Mobilization for Youth

The importance of the world of work is self-evident. Gainful employment is the accepted means of attaining monetary rewards in our money-oriented culture; indeed, occupation is the chief determinant of social status and the principal road to upward mobility. It is through the work role that men feel a connection to their society, from which they derive a sense of well-being. As C. Wright Mills has noted, "No moral endeavor, no political orientation, no human study that does not pay close attention to man at work can possibly be adequate for our time."[1]

A primary objective of a work program for teen-agers must be the creation of new employment possibilities. The extent of unemployment among youth today has been amply documented: as of January 1961, the unemployment rate for youth from 16 to 20 years of age was 16.8 percent, as compared to an over-all unemployment rate of 7.7 percent.[2] During the 1970's the problem of youthful unemployment will be aggravated by the entry of 26 million new young workers into the labor market, or an increase of 40 percent over the entries during the preceding decade.[3]

Lower-class youngsters contribute disproportionately to the ranks of the unemployed because they tend to be undereducated and consequently to fall into the lower-status, more vulnerable occupational categories. The percentage of unemployment among unskilled workers is twice as high as

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1. C. Wright Mills, "Work Milieu and Social Structure," People at Work: A Symposium, San Francisco: Asilomar Conference of the Mental Health Society of Northern California, undated, p. 36.
2. Arthur J. Goldberg, Secretary of Labor, Reported in the New York Times, June 5, 1961.
3. U.S. Department of Labor, Manpower, Challenge of the Sixties, 1960, p. 14.

among all other job categories[4]; and the percentage among persons with less than a high-school education is nearly double that among high-school graduates and triple that among persons with some college education.[5] Thus, lower-class youth are members of the "last to be hired, first to be fired" category. In view of current trends in the employment market -- i.e., increasing automation, heightened training requirements -- this situation can be expected to worsen.

Critics of the contemporary work scene have decried the excessive mechanization, the highly routinized nature, and the lack of social utility of much labor. The trained automobile repairman, for example, engages as much in auto cosmetics as in auto mechanics. In such a circumstance, one critic has observed, it is "hard for the young man to maintain his feelings of justification, sociability, serviceability. It is not surprising if he quickly becomes cynical and time-serving, interested in a fast buck."[6] The prospect for the undereducated youth is for a job (if he is fortunate enough to find one) which is intrinsically unsatisfying, which supplies insufficient immediate reward, monetary or otherwise, and which holds little promise of future reward.

The scarcity of jobs for young people in general, and particularly for lower-class adolescents, suggests a need for radical intervention. Although sensitive vocational counselling and aggressive placement are important means of meeting this condition, they are futile without the job opportunities about which to counsel youth and vacancies in which to place them. Given the enormity of the task, job-finding programs in private industry cannot be expected to fill the gap.[7] Although some employers will risk hiring additional young people in response to public appeal, the number of such placements is insignificant in comparison to the need. In view of the persistent marginality of many lower-income youngsters, their lack of marketable skills, their undeveloped academic abilities, and their social immaturity, it is not surprising that this is so. Nor is it feasible or desirable to attempt to place young people in jobs now held by older, more experienced workers. Men with families obviously have priority in the competition for scarce jobs, and the gap between the requirements of the labor force and the number of laborers is growing steadily wider. New jobs therefore must be created for young people, jobs which do not now exist. These new employment opportunities must be designed to fill some of the many social needs that are now unsatisfied. The increase in leisure time, for example, creates a need for workers in such consumption fields as recreation.

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[4] Marcia K. Freedman, "Work and the Adolescent," Golden Anniversary White House Conference on Children and Youth, 1960, p. 149.
[5] U.S., Department of Labor, op. cit., p. 17.
[6] Paul Goodman, "Youth in the Organized Society," Commentary, Vol. 26, No. 2 (Feb. 1960), p. 96.

It is also important to publicize existing opportunities and the routes to the achievement of those opportunities. Lower-class youngsters are particularly disadvantaged in their lack of vocational contacts and the inadequacy of their role models. The youngster whose father knows the boss or high-placed workers who can give him advance information about job openings obviously has an important advantage in the competition for work. When we consider that only a fraction of jobs are obtained through channels such as employment agencies and newspaper ads, we can understand how significant a barrier to achievement is the lower-class lack of vocational "connections."

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[7] Judge Justine Wise Polier, of Domestic Relations Court, reports that the Mayor's Committee of Industrial Leaders for Youth, consisting of top New York business executives, had produced only 50 jobs by July 5, 1960 after having pledged earlier that year to find work for large numbers of youngsters from deprived areas. (New York Times, July 19, 1960.)

When home is remote from places of employment, the vocational aspirations of youngsters are affected by adults whom they know. In deprived inner-city areas, youngsters shun blue-collar jobs, because the adults they know who work with their hands perform menial, unrewarding tasks. Thus their image of the blue-collar worker is of one at the "bottom of the ladder," an unskilled domestic rather than the more rewarded skilled craftsman.

Role models are also needed to demonstrate ways in which one prepares for the more desirable occupations. As noted by one expert:

> How a young man goes about entering his chosen occupation is determined by the adequacy of his information about that occupation, by the extent to which he has been able to observe others entering and working in that occupation. Whether or not he seeks the best training for it, under appropriate auspices, depends partly upon the quality of his contact with people in that occupation. Whether or not he applies for jobs in the proper places, at the proper time, and in the proper manner, also is in part the result of how much opportunity he has had to observe others going through the same process, and of the adequacy of the understanding of the occupational mores which he has acquired through family activities, discussion and contacts.[8]

Building bridges to adult careers, making these bridges apparent to youngsters, and clarifying for them where the bridges lead and what is required for the journey require programs whose objective is to increase contact between adults and community institutions, youngsters and community institutions, youngsters and adults, and even between various age groups, so that older boys may serve as models for younger ones.

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[8] Donald E. Super, The Psychology of Careers, New York: Harper & Bros., 1957, p. 244.

Large-scale adult-education programs need to be launched, so that parents may more adequately interpret the environment to their children and may increase their competency to serve as models for youngsters. Lower-class children need particularly to be exposed to people "one rung up the ladder," so that routes are visible and perceived as accessible. In addition, the fact that the employment of youth is literally no one's affair needs to be remedied; a single over-all body solely devoted to this area of development is sorely required. Further, school programs closely integrated with the tasks and training requisites of the world of work are crucial.

In addition to creating new employment opportunities and publicizing existent ones, a work program must make jobs more accessible to young people. That is, it must make youth more employable. It has been estimated, for example, that in New York City there are only five qualified persons for every seven skilled openings, with particularly serious shortages in such fields as auto mechanics, nursing, and stenography. The criteria that influence access to employment opportunities are of two kinds: achieved and ascribed. Achieved criteria are acquired in the process of socialization; ascribed criteria, such as ethnicity and age, are often fixed biologically. Lower-class youngsters are disadvantaged on both counts.

The barriers to educational opportunity for lower-class youngsters will be discussed in the next section. We note here only the estimate that 75 per cent of all youngsters in slum areas of large cities enter the labor market without a high-school diploma.[9] Increasing automation and the steady decrease in unskilled jobs means that employers are requiring a high-school diploma for most entry jobs, and particularly for those which hold the promise of promotion. The beginning job of the nongraduate is likely to be the highest he can ever aspire to, since he may lack the academic tools to learn a more complex skill. Even apprenticeships, insufficiently available as they are, will soon require high-school diplomas, and some of them already require considerable reading and arithmetic proficiency.[10] Not only does the school dropout lack the work and academic skill necessary for advancement; he is often so undereducated as to be unable to fulfill the simple requirements of an application process, from reaching the employment office to filling out the necessary forms.

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[9] Ford Foundation, Report on Conference on School Dropouts and the Employment of Youth, New York, 1960, p.3.

In addition, lower-class youngsters, because of their own distinctive socialization, often lack such "middle-class" graces as good speech, promptness, neatness, and politeness. This handicaps them in work settings which tend to be mechanized, routine, and formal. It is not surprising, therefore, that they are as often fired for "poor work attitudes" as for poor performance.

Negroes and Puerto Ricans, overwhelmingly members of the lower class, face the further barrier to vocational opportunity of discriminatory practices in regard to preparation for work, referrals to jobs, hiring, and promotion. These practices run the gamut from subtle to blatant discrimination. Such extensive documentation exists that it is hardly necessary to expand the point here. The objective reality of discrimination discourages Negro and Puerto Rican youngsters from adequately preparing themselves, as it does teachers from helping them to prepare and vocational counsellors from referring them to otherwise appropriate positions.

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[10] Harry Kursh. Apprenticeships in America, New York: W.W. Norton, 1958, pp. 65-66.

Already handicapped by restrictive practices based on color, "foreignness," language difficulty, and class mores, lower-class youngsters are also disadvantaged, along with their more affluent brethren, by their youth. Although there are, of course, objective limitations to the work ability of young people as a group, not all of them share these limitations. To some extent the adult definition of teen-agers as feckless, rash, unreliable, and reckless encourages them to enact the anticipated role. In the instance of youngsters adjudicated delinquent, this record is assumed to be _prima facie_ evidence of undesirability, regardless of present behavior.

Thus there are three major objectives for Mobilization programs in the world of work:

(1) To increase employment opportunities for lower-class youth;

(2) To increase the visibility of existing job opportunities;

(3) To increase the employability of lower-class adolescents.

The Urban Youth Service Corps

The Urban Youth Service Corps is a subsidized work-experience and training program for out-of-school youth between the ages of 16 and 21.[11] After its first year of operation the Corps will have a capacity of 200 full-time and 50 part-time enrollees, each enlisted for one year (subject to one extension).[12] Ultimately, this number will be doubled.

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[11] The conception of this program draws heavily on the experience of the National Youth Administration, a large-scale subsidized work program instituted during the Depression. Our program differs in that it is a local rather than a national effort and is designed for a more homogenously disadvantaged group; in the N.Y.A. there were many youngsters who were economically dislocated by the Depression as well as youngsters whose economic, cultural, and social handicaps were augmented but not necessarily created by the general economic collapse. For a full description and critique of the N.Y.A., see Lewis J. Lorwin, _Youth Work Programs_, Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1941.

Some youth will enroll on their own initiative; others will be referred to the Corps by the Youth Jobs Center (see page 29), to which they may have gone for employment help. Still others will be referred by their school, the Neighborhood Service Centers run by Mobilization For Youth, a settlement house, or other agencies. Sixteen-year-olds will not be admitted to the Corps during the course of the school year, unless at least one month has passed since their separation from school -- in order to ensure that the program does not provide a direct impetus for school leaving. (Other Mobilization-supported programs are designed to encourage youth to remain in school. For example, the Homework Helper program, described in Appendix A-2, will reward those youngsters who do well and will provide income to sustain them while attending school.)

Work-experience and job training will be coupled with individual and group vocational guidance for each enrollee so that participation in the Corps will be a successful step toward satisfactory employment upon leaving. Corpsmen will work on both public- and private-service projects. They will be paid $1.00 per hour for up to 35 hours of work and training per week, with slightly higher wages for those promoted to leadership assignments within their crews. They will work in crews of 10 to 20 youth, under supervision of a skilled craftsman-foreman. The work projects will be structured to provide specific training opportunities along with work assignments.

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[12] We recognize, of course, that some youngsters will wish to leave the Corps before the year is up. The Detroit Upgrading Program is a recent effort to provide a short-term (six weeks) subsidized work experience for out-of-school unemployed youngsters. This program apparently focused primarily on upgrading the work personality. Successful graduates are more employable unskilled workers. We hope that a longer program with emphasis on training will provide youngsters with a modicum of skill or motivation to prepare for a more secure and gratifying occupation. For a description of the Detroit operation, see Detroit Council for Youth Service, Detroit Helps Unemployed Youth through the Job-Upgrading Program, Detroit: Detroit Council for Youth Service, undated.

For all enrollees there will be a short orientation program designed to provide some of the basic "tools" for effective participation in the Corps: for example, instruction on keeping time and pay records, use of street and subway maps, understanding Social Security and income-tax deductions. For some youngsters, there will also be several "job conditioning" sessions, dealing with such job-finding tools as how to fill in an application blank, conduct oneself during an interview, choose among employment offers, and the like.

With the help of the Youth Jobs Center, and through cooperation with governmental agencies, private service agencies, and private business enterprises, the Corps will develop and maintain a reservoir of entry-level work-experience assignments. Subsidy funds will be used to provide base pay to youth participants. When his stint in the Corps has been completed, each enrollee will be referred to the Youth Jobs Center, as required, for assistance in getting a job in business and industry.

Objectives

The objectives of the Corps are as follows:

1. To provide paid employment for out-of-school youth who are unable to find work in private enterprise.

2. To increase the employability of youth by improving their social, academic, and job skills.

3. To give these youth, by means of supervised, subsidized work experience, a first-hand knowledge of the job market of the city.

4. To test the effectiveness of a subsidized work program in channeling the energies of urban youth into constructive and acceptable behavior and away from individual and group delinquency.

5. To provide youth in low-income urban families with opportunities to know and emulate adult work models by working with and under the supervision of adult members of the community who have been successful in such occupations as fireman, plumber, doctor, merchant, and teacher.

6. To perform useful and visible work in the neighborhood which otherwise would go undone.[13]

7. To encourage school dropouts to assess their educational deficiencies realistically and to take advantage of remedial or supplementary schooling or training in conjunction with their work experience in the Corp.

Orientation and Work Program

The basic purposes of the orientation period are (1) to provide enrollees with pertinent information regarding the operation of the Corps, and (2) to motivate them to participate effectively. Among the topics to be considered in orientation sessions are the following: the objectives of the Corps, rules of conduct (taking orders, getting along with others, etc.), work procedures (assignments, transfers, daily check-in and check-out, reporting absences, etc.), how wages and deductions are calculated, how to use such

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[13] A spot survey of administrative personnel in over 20 private and public institutions on the Lower East Side was conducted by a Mobilization staff member and the Hamilton Fish Neighborhood Youth Team of LENA. Respondents indicated a wide range of work that would enhance their service or be useful to the community and that could be performed by crews of young workers. Suggestions include city conservation units; a homemaker service; a clerical pool for neighborhood groups as well as private and public agencies; an agency and tenement restoration service (including repair of equipment, refurnishing and redecorating rooms in the settlements, painting); and recreational assistants.

Corps services as vocational guidance, placement, etc. The orientation period will last about a week.

Corps enrollees will be assigned to work projects both in crews and individually. Among the group assignments will be the following:

Teen-age industries: Workshops in which teen agers will refurbish and repair toys, simple playground equipment, furniture, and household appliances for resale or for use by charitable institutions. Youth will work under the supervision of expert craftsmen from the neighborhood (upholsterers, electricians, toymakers, etc.). This program might be set up and operated by a private youth-serving agency under a contract with the Corps, or it might be set up and operated by the Corps itself. An elaboration of this project is given following this discussion of the Service Corps.

Neighborhood conservation and improvement crews: Small teams under adult "work group supervisors" will be assigned a variety of community service jobs, such as the development of simply equipped, temporary children's playgrounds on vacant lots ("tot lots"); participation in sidewalk tree-planting and caretaking (under supervision of the Parks Department); painting and minor repairs of selected tenement buildings.

Office helpers: A workshop operated for teen-agers. A variety of office services will be provided — typing, mimeographing, mailing, errand and delivery services, and so forth — to neighborhood businesses, agencies, and informal local groups which do not have their own staff. This program will need subsidization but will be partially self-supporting on a fee-for-service basis. As in other Mobilization work programs, training will also be offered, and employment will be transitional rather than permanent.

Leadership aides: Youth helpers to public and non-profit institutions — group work and recreation assistants, housekeeping aides (older girls especially), nurses' aides, etc. This work will provide opportunities for large numbers of youth and would best be set up as one or more "service pools." For example, the Corps might set up a program with a settlement for training, placement, and supervision of adolescents as group-work aides to assist leaders in conducting activities for younger children. Mobilization-sponsored youth activities, such as the Coffee Shops and the Adventure Corps (see Appendix A-5), will also require the employment of local teenagers to provide assistance to professional leadership and to serve as models for other youth. Although youth will usually work individually at this type of task, they will be assigned in teams or crews to a cooperating agency for training and supervision.

The Corps program will also include the assignment of youth individually to small businesses and service organizations. These assignments will constitute short-term "apprenticeships." The Corps and employers will share equally the cost of youth salaries. The more mature, well-motivated youngsters or those who have already served in a work crew will obviously be better suited for individual assignment.

Training Programs

On-the-job training: During their participation in the Corps, enrollees may be given several work assignments, in order to expose them to several different kinds of jobs.[14] The projects at which they will work will be structured to give these young workers the greatest possible opportunity to develop social competence and specific work skills. Work-group supervisors will be work-teachers, in effect. As competent craftsmen, they will transmit to their charges a sense of responsibility toward the work and an awareness of its value to the community. In work situations which call for special skills not possessed by the work-group supervisors, the services of expert neighborhood craftsmen will be recruited for instructing youth enrollees as the work progresses.

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[14] The Quoddy Regional Project, part of the N.Y.A., was an industrial village in which young residents could sample at least three kinds of occupation in a six-month period. One observer reports of the Quoddy Project: "It was a bold and novel experience, and it was enormously successful. Through work exploration thousands of boys acquired the 'feel' of various trades.... After leaving Quoddy, an overwhelming majority sought out the means of acquiring a skill in their respective communities" Kursh, op. cit., pp. xiv-xvi.

The range and scope of skill-learning opportunities that will be presented to enrollees are large, as the following incomplete list suggests:

1. Painting, simple carpentry, plumbing, electrical and other maintenance work.
2. Planting and care of trees and shrubs.
3. Caring for patients in hospitals and nursing homes.
4. Supervising the activities of children in youth-serving programs.
5. Furniture-making, upholstering, and repair; wood-working, toy-making and assembling.
6. Operating and servicing a variety of office machines.
7. Secretarial, clerical, and bookkeeping services.

Short-term training courses: Some work projects devised by the Corps will demand skills at the outset that the enrollees are not likely to have. Before these programs can be undertaken, therefore, specific training will be required. The dimensions of the prospective work assignment will determine the length and the level of the training. For example, an orientation training course for group-work aides might take two or three weeks while orientation for tree-planting and tending might last but a few days. A course might also be offered in electrical wiring and pipe-fitting, in cement-mixing and molding, or in simple brick-laying to prepare youth to construct a children's playground. Another course might provide instruction and practice in the selection and preparation of paints and varnishes, or in refinishing various wood, tile, metal, or brick surfaces prior to launching a neighborhood conservation campaign.

In summary, training will be primary in the Corps. Special efforts will be made to utilize skilled adults in the Mobilization area as instructors. The Training Division of the Youth Jobs Center will be instrumental in this work.

Advisory Committee and Staff

A Citizens' Advisory Committee will lend advice and direction to the Corps program. This committee will include representation from neighborhood citizen associations, appropriate city-government agencies (including the Board of Education, Public Welfare, etc.), the New York State Employment Service, employer organizations in the Lower East Side area, organized labor, private youth-serving agencies, service organizations (e.g., Rotary), and religious organizations.

Staff for the Corps will include a full-time Director, an Assistant Director, work-group supervisors, project leaders, and part-time consultants. Staff members of the Guidance and Counseling Division of the Youth Jobs Center will serve as vocational experience counselors. As the size of the Corps increases, other staff persons may be required as aides to the Director -- for example, a project coordinator and a personnel director.

The duties and qualifications of these staff members are as follows:

The Director will be appointed by Mobilization for Youth and will have over-all responsibility for the development and maintenance of the Corps personnel and programs.

The Assistant Director will serve as executive assistant to the director. He may be delegated the responsibility of project coordination, public education, or recruitment and assignment of enrollees.

Vocational-experience Counselors, staff members of the Youth Jobs Center, will make the initial assignment of some youngsters to the Corps. They will continue to work with those youth as well as with others who enroll directly or are referred from other sources, staying with the same youngsters throughout their enlistment in order to provide a sense of continuity. The Counselors' tasks will include: the development and conduct of orientation and job-conditioning classes, including the preparation of curriculum materials; individual and group guidance on work-adjustment problems, supervisory relationships, career planning, and general problems, particularly as they relate to occupational growth; consultation with work-group supervisors on the progress of crews and the handling of problems; and preparation of work-experience reports on individual youngsters to facilitate their placement in suitable nonsubsidized jobs. The goal of the Counselors will be to enable the youngsters to make full use of the subsidized employment and to help them with personal problems as they impinge on job performance. If counseling is offered, we believe that it will be more readily accepted in this setting, for it will be related to the "normal" activity of work rather than to maladjustment.

One Work-Group Supervisor will be employed for every 10 to 20 enrollees. Each supervisor will have part-time or full-time responsibility for a work crew, including daily work plans, on-the-job instruction and training, and arrangement for other specialized training as needed. The Supervisor should be either a skilled craftsman with some human-relations skills or a social group worker, depending upon the work task. A likely prospect would be someone trained in teaching high-school industrial arts, provided that he has substantial on-the-job experience as a skilled worker.

Specially trained Project Leaders may be required to direct such work projects as "Teen Age Industries." These persons will be recruited because of their special competence and will have essentially the same role as Work-Group Supervisors in relation to the enrollees and the Director of the Corps.

Special Consultants may be required on occasion for the conduct of particular work projects and the training of Corpsmen for this work. Skilled persons may be recruited on a part-time or short-term basis to fill these requirements. These persons will work under the Director and in cooperation with Vocational-Experience Counselors, Work-Group Supervisors and Project Leaders.

Assumptions of the Urban Youth Service Corps

The real world of work: Although the Urban Youth Service Corps must be free of schoolishness, there is a need to educate the youngsters who participate. We have therefore tried to simulate a world-of-work setting and to relate training to specific on-the-job needs. If a youngster, despite the orientation program, has trouble keeping his time card, understanding deductions on his pay check, or reading regulations and other printed material related to his job, these difficulties will be the impetus for remedial education beyond the initial orientation instruction. The use of skilled craftsmen for job supervision will also increase the credibility of the work setting and the effectiveness of recommendations that a youngster improve his reading and arithmetic proficiency. As we have mentioned, youngsters will be given extensive on-the-job counseling. Shifting from one type of work to another is an attempt to allow youngsters to experience different occupations, but at the same time we shall try to create real work demands and to maximize production and efficiency.

The program of "made" work: To a certain extent, the subsidized aspect of the work program undermines the goal of making the experience a businesslike and therefore realistic preparation for future employment. The emphasis on "made" work may lead youngsters to feel that they are getting something for nothing. It is true, of course, that subsidized work projects do not arise in response to the demands of the market. In this respect they resemble the social services which are "produced in response to stimuli other than the desire and the willingness of the individual recipient to purchase them."[15] By this reasoning the jobs of teachers and social workers could also be considered "made" work. In considering this objection, it seems important to distinguish between market-place criteria and usefulness. The work tasks for which youngsters will be paid will be selected on the basis of their training value to the youth and the service they provide to the community, without regard for their commercial value. Members of the Corps will have one important reward not afforded to many young lower-income workers — the knowledge that their work is of tangible benefit to others. For example, a "tot lot" filled with bright, attractive toys may make a difference in the lives of children who would have to play in slum streets were it not for teen-age crews who maintain the lots and make or repair the toys. Unfortunately, in our economy of affluence, as Galbraith has noted, artificial demands are often created through advertising techniques while vital needs of people for housing, schools, roads, public transportation — are neglected.[16] In the final analysis, much bona fide work is "made."

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[15] Eveline M. Burns, "The Financing of Social Welfare," New Directions in Social Work, Cora Kasius, ed., New York, Harper & Brothers, 1954, p. 138.

[16] John K. Galbraith, The Affluent Society, Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1958, passim.

Exploitation of a subsidized program: The possible misuse of the program by youngsters poses a more difficult problem. No matter how poor a youngster's motivation to work, he will be attracted to the Corps because it offers him a going wage. Many youth will initially join because of the salary, thinking that they can make "a fast buck" without exerting any energy. These youth, many of whom have internalized delinquent norms, are among those who must be reached. We would be missing the target if we tried to weed them out, but it is quite appropriate to build certain sanctions into the program.

Boys will certainly not be asked to leave the Corps because of poor skills, mistakes, or even friction with other workers and their supervisor, since it is the purpose of the program to help them to learn in a setting in which they need not fear being fired for immaturity and inexperience. However, Corpsmen will be informed from the outset of their enrollment that lack of effort will be punishable by expulsion. Obviously this measure will be invoked sparingly.[17]

We believe that youngsters will try to avoid expulsion from the Corps if only because of the salary. It will be our none-too-simple task to make them workers — in some cases in spite of themselves. Exposing them to the normative influence of a work group will be a major means of increasing their involvement. Without the Corps some of the youngsters would not be hired in the first place or would prove unsatisfactory before they could become part of a work group. Yet at least one expert has pointed out the salutary effects of a work group on delinquent youngsters. Haskell[18] observed that most of the clients at Berkshire Farm for Boys, a residential treatment school for adolescents, came from families whose norms coincided with those of the larger society. It is his belief that the family's normative influence may be strengthened if youngsters are provided with a satisfying experience in a group at work or school. The youth's prestige in the family will also be increased by the work group, since it enables him to become self-supporting, socially competent, and therefore a contributor to, rather than a drain on, the meager family resources.

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[17] The experience of the Summer Teen Work Project of the Lenox Hill Neighborhood Association, a part-time, short-term subsidized work program, is suggestive. It employed a "bonus incentive plan" to avoid misuse of the program and to increase motivation. In the "job contract," youngsters were notified that unexcused or excessive absences would result in loss of a job, and this rule was strictly enforced. If workers were late, they were "docked"; on the other hand, if a youngster had perfect attendance for the week, he would receive extra compensation. Staff noticed that youth, many of whom were gang members, worked hard and well and maintained excellent attendance records. See Summer Teen Work Project (sponsored jointly by Lenox Hill Neighborhood Association, Neighbors United, and Interfaith Neighbors), New York City, mimeographed, Oct. 1961.

Particularly on initial assignments, the Corps will provide youngsters with the experience of working in crews. Special efforts will be made to develop cohesive groups to encourage teamwork. A social group-work consultant will aid crew leaders in this task. Leadership positions with higher wages will also be a means of stimulating youngsters to work harder. Less motivated youngsters will be supervised by trained social workers.

Eligibility for the corps: Obviously, each work group will need some youngsters who are highly motivated and who can therefore form a core on whom the work-group supervisor can count. For this reason as well as others, the Corps must offer employment to youth who are relatively undamaged and who have internalized norms that support work as the means for financial attainment even though they may be dislocated by a labor market that has a dearth of unskilled jobs. Thus the Corps is designed for all unemployed Lower East Side youngsters between the ages of 16 and 21 rather than solely for dropouts or delinquents. The participation of less damaged youth is invited not only because they will strengthen the work crews but because they too need skills upgrading.[19] In addition, we want so-called normal youth in order to keep the program from being regarded as a repository for social incompetents. Despite the increasing scarcity of entry jobs, the prevailing opinion is that something is wrong with a youth if he needs a subsidized program. If the Corps is to be regarded as a legitimate training program, youngsters must be compensated just as industrial trainees or apprentices are, and eligibility and participation must be so defined as to include the nondeviant; otherwise enlistment will amount to status degradation rather than upgrading.

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[18] Martin Haskell, "A Theory of Juvenile Delinquency," Social Problems, Vol. 8, No. 3 (Winter 1960-61), pp. 220-30.

Individualizing opportunities: If the Corpsmen have a diversity of career needs, then training opportunities must be similarly varied. Even among disadvantaged groups, we have often failed to individualize problems. Although all dropouts, for example, have in common thwarted mobility as a result of school-leaving, children may leave school for a variety of reasons and at different stages in their lives. A youngster who drops out for economic reasons at 16, after he has finished the second year of high school, clearly needs different handling than a 16-year-old who drops out of junior high school because of a combination of intellectual, social, and econimic handicaps.

In dealing with a large group of youngsters, we shall provide work experiences involving different types of skill, capacity, and interest. As we have said, there will be a chance for youth to sample a number of tasks and to indulge in some career experimentation. Within crews, there will be opportunities for more skilled youngsters to assume leadership positions. A youngster who shows exceptional ability or talent will be helped by his vocational-experience counselor to develop his capacities.

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[19] "Inquiry has shown that a high percentage of young people who leave school at all levels are inadequately prepared for employment." U.S. Senate, Committee on the Judiciary, Subcommittee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency, Youth Employment and Juvenile Delinquency, 1956, p. 8.

Occupational outlook: A wide variety of training experiences will be provided and related to the youngsters' occupational outlook, both immediate and long-range. Those who are eager to work, fairly amenable to supervision, and relatively literate already have the nucleus of a suitable work personality. A year's experience in the Corps should boost them to a more skilled level of the labor hierarchy or at least encourage them to return to high school, trade school, or enter an apprenticeship in order to become more mobile. Information on job trends will be collected and disseminated by the Youth Jobs Center (see pages 32-33).

Other youngsters who enroll will be so deficient in the general skills of working that they will need to concentrate on the improvement of work habits during their year or two of Corps experience. Their assignments need not prepare them for specific careers. For example, those placed as recreational helpers or Park Department Assistants may not be able to make a career out of these jobs although they will probably eventually enter "service occupations." Youngsters without specific skills will no doubt seek work in these general employment categories, for "as our technology advances, proportionately fewer workers will be needed to produce the goods we need. More workers will be needed to provide the increasing services required as our standard of living goes up."[20]

Placement in service occupations will not only provide a general pre-employment experience for these occupations but may contribute to the personal growth of youngsters who are particularly immature, unstable, or resistant to authority. The supervisor for such positions will be a trained social worker, who can offer more understanding and help in this instance than the skilled craftsmen who will supervise other youth.

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[20] U.S. Department of Labor, op. cit., p. 8

A year's employment: Even if the youngster is not significantly upgraded in work or personality skills, he will be more employable after a year in the Corps. Sixteen- and 17-year-olds in particular, for whom employment is often hard to find, often tend to develop defeatist and self-defeating patterns — if not actually delinquent ones — during this difficult period of transition from adolescence to adulthood. If a youngster is employed in the Corps during one of these marginal years, he is likely to be a more attractive applicant subsequently. Instead of a year of floundering he will have spent his time in satisfying productive work. He will have had one year less of isolation from the community.

Teen-Age Industries

A Subsidized Work Project of the Urban Youth Service Corps

Because there are not enough jobs available for all the youth who want and need paid work, and because many youth who want to work need much training to become readily employable, a semi-commercial enterprise is proposed in which approximately 30 full-time and part-time employees, ages 16 to 21, will make and refurbish toys, nursery and playground equipment, and household furnishings, under the supervision of expert craftsmen. This shop will be set up by Mobilization for Youth as an adjunct to the Urban Youth Service Corps. It may be operated directly by Corps personnel, or it may be developed by an existing community agency under contract to the Corps and Mobilization for Youth. Youth will be referred to Teen-Age

Industries by the Director of the Corps.

The jobs provided will be newly created and will not cause the displacement of any older workers. Employment in Teen-Age Industries will be transitional rather than terminal, intended to provide a vehicle for the successful integration of each youthful employee into a related commercial job in the open labor market. Guidance services provided through the Youth Jobs Center will help youth go from Teen-Age Industries into private employment; further education and training in trade schools, apprenticeships, or night classes; or another work task in the Youth Corps.

A large component of training for future adult occupations will characterize all work assignments, especially for out-of-school youth. Close cooperation with the schools, particularly the vocational high school in the area to be served, will be developed to extend the training opportunities of youth participating.

Products made in Teen-Age Industries will be marketed within New York City and thus will provide a source of revenue to help defray the cost of operation. Althouth it is possible that this program will become self-supporting, it is more likely that some degree of subsidization will be necessary for its continuation, since the youth who will constitute the labor force will require heavy investments in staff for training and supervision.

Teen-Age Industries will begin as a limited operation, perhaps as a workshop for refurbishing, repairing, and reselling used furniture. The furniture will be obtained from such organizations as the Housing Authority,[21] The Salvation Army, Goodwill Industries, and private individuals.

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[21] Furniture discarded by residents of New York City Housing Authority projects is a possible source of material for refurbishing. The current procedure for disposing of these household effects is very cumbersome. Therefore, we have reason to believe that Authority personnel would be willing to have Teen-Age Industries use them.

Sources of advice and experience include The Salvation Army, Goodwill Industries, vocational-school personnel, and neighborhood craftsmen. If the furniture operation proves successful, other "lines" can be added one at a time: nursery equipment and toys, playground equipment, general toys, furniture repair, etc. Potential markets include day-care centers, youth-serving agencies, private elementary schools and kindergartens, churches, and individual households.

Plan of Operation

Teen-Age Industries will be formed as a corporation, according to New York State laws, and will be governed by a Board of Directors including businessmen, labor leaders, and private citizens in cooperation with the Director of the Urban Youth Service Corps.

Initially, a General Manager, one Foreman-Instructor, and a Secretary will be needed. The larger operation will require, in addition, three department heads, to supervise production and sales, training and placement, and purchasing and accounting; and more foremen-instructors (one for each work room or crew).

Under the direction of the general manager at first, and later the production supervisor, the foreman-instructor will supervise youth employees, who will perform all basic work permissible under the child-labor laws. Specific job assignments will depend on the age, skill, and experience of the youngsters, to allow for progressive training and skill development. Sixteen- and 17-year-olds might be employed part-time or full-time, depending on their school status, to do any repair and decorating jobs not requiring power-driven equipment, pick-up and delivery, sales, or inventory and stock-room maintenance. Youth aged 18 or older might work full-time or part-time, according to need, doing all repair and refurbishing jobs, including those requiring the use of power-driven tools; delivering and picking up materials; operating the freight elevator; or acting as workshop assistants or salesmen.

The supervisor of purchasing will handle all transactions for procuring materials. Under the aegis of the sales supervisor, young salesmen will market the finished products in a store located on the premises. (In time it may be desirable to set up outlet shops in other locations.)

Suggestion for Consideration

Teen-age Industries might be operated on a profit-sharing plan. Youth could be paid a basic hourly stipend plus a percentage of the profits of the enterprise. Accounts would be reckoned and payments made quarterly. This plan, it is believed, would encourage the young workers to develop responsibility to the group and the job, as well as to themselves. It would also be a natural way of teaching basic economics.

Because of the nature of this operation, "profits" would be defined as the gross income from sales less the cost of expendable supplies, the cost (if any) of used goods procured for renovation, and workers' stipends. Staff salaries, facilities, and equipment costs will not be included.

Facilities and Materials Required

A large, loft-type area will be needed, with rest rooms, lockers for workers, and utilities. It should have one or more work rooms, a storage and shipping room, a display and sales room, and an office.

Work benches, hand and power tools, paints, varnishes, and other expendables, lumber, upholstering supplies, dollies, hand trucks, and the like are needed. A truck may be rented for pick-up and delivery services.

If an upper floor is used, a freight elevator will be needed. A library of how-to-do-it books and office equipment will also be required.

Exploratory Work Course

An objective of the Exploratory Work Course is to provide youngsters and their parents with information about the work tasks and training requisites of many occupations, in order to make purposive career planning possible and to stimulate the academic achievement vital to success in a career. A further aim of the course is to transmit a sense of the value and interdependence of all work, as well as the personal satisfaction provided by different types of occupation. Because of their minority-group status, many of the prospective students must be apprised of and equipped for coping with discriminatory barriers, as well as made aware of special opportunities, such as scholarships and training programs.

Although material relevant to these purposes should be diffused throughout the grade-school curriculum, more direct and specific treatment is needed in the seventh and eighth grades, prior to the vocational decision implicit in the choice of a high-school curriculum. The course, of two semesters' duration, will include work-sampling through trips to work settings and classroom visits from local persons (particularly minority-group members) who have succeeded in various occupations. These trips and visits will be used as springboards for discussion about the training requisites, rewards (beginning salaries and expected lifetime income), employment opportunities, and personal satisfactions of each occupation. Special attention will be devoted to the role of trade unions and such organizations as SCAD and the NAACP in upgrading workers and exposing discriminatory practices. The course will be conducted by qualified guidance teachers, but staff members of the Youth Jobs Center will serve in an advisory capacity on such subjects as job-finding, occupational outlook, and training resources. Conferences with youngsters will be held throughout the year, as well as several parent meetings designed to encourage parental participation in realistic planning with their children.

Youth Jobs Center

In order to provide full employment services to youth in the Mobilization area, a coordinating agency, the Youth Jobs Center, is proposed. This program proposes a considerable expansion of CONTACT, a trail-blazing youth employment service co-sponsored by the New York State Employment Service, the University Settlement, and LENA. Its purposes are:

1. To add to the employment opportunities and to increase the accessibility of existing jobs for youth.
2. To broaden the occupational horizons and raise the career expectations of these youth.
3. To ensure effective utilization of the vocational resources of Mobilization and other programs for young workers.
4. To coordinate all Mobilization's channels of access to employers.
5. To improve and increase facilities for the vocational preparation of youth.
6. To aid in the reduction and removal of discriminatory employment barriers based upon race, ethnicity, or age.

The Center will coordinate and supplement the work of school guidance personnel and other agencies rendering employment services to youth in the area. It will be an essential vehicle for referring young persons to the Urban Youth Service Corps and other Mobilization work-related programs, and to jobs in business and industry.

The Youth Jobs Center will offer counseling, job-placement services, and special work-training opportunities. It will serve primarily youth aged 16 and older, particularly those who are out of school, whether or not they are members of the Youth Corps. As much as possible the Center will also work with boys and girls aged 14 and 15 and with pupils enrolled in the junior-high-school Exploratory Work Courses. Special attention will be given to hard-to-reach and hard-to-place youth. It is estimated that approximately1,200 youth clients will need service in the Center's first year of operation.

Center personnel will gather information on all types of job-training opportunities, job openings, and occupational trends affecting youth. This information will be disseminated to youth and their parents as well as to such interested groups as schools, neighborhood houses, religious organizations, and other work-related Mobilization for Youth programs.

The Youth Jobs Center will be set up as a cooperative endeavor of city-wide vocational agencies in co-sponsorship with Mobilization for Youth. The participating agencies will comprise a professional policy committee, which will be a technical and policy-making body. The following organizations have evinced interest: New York State Employment Service, YMCA Vocational Service Center, Federation Employment and Guidance Service, Archdiocesan Vocational Service, and Vocational Advisory Service. In addition, the Board of Education, LENA, and University Settlement will be invited to send representatives. Co-sponsorship will permit the full utilization of existing resources, without overlapping or fragmentation; it will provide the opportunity for a significant experiment in community organization of vocational services; it will increase the likelihood that the program will be continued after the Mobilization experiment is over; and it will facilitate the procurement of experienced staff, for staff members of cooperating agencies might be "loaned" or "contributed" to the Center. In addition, it will make possible a marshalling of vocational forces to attack discriminatory employment practices.

The primary functions and services of the Center will be carried out in a central location; information and referral desks will be set up at Neighborhood Service Centers and possibly elsewhere in the community.

The Program

The Youth Jobs Center will have four functional divisions: Guidance and Counseling, Placement, Training, and Promotion and Public Education. Each person coming to the Center will be interviewed by the Guidance and Counseling Division. After evaluation of his immediate needs, he might be referred to the Urban Youth Service Corps for assignment to one of its units. If he is to be placed in private industry, he will be referred to the Placement Services Division. In some cases, the youngster will be retained in counseling over a period of time, although it is unlikely that severely disadvantaged youth would be amenable to much guidance before employment.[22]

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[22] Staff of the Federation Employment and Guidance Service-Youth Board Project for youngsters in a high delinquency area of New York City found that counseling is more acceptable to disadvantaged youngsters after they have been placed. Recognizing that many of the youngsters "come from homes in which the pressures of daily living are so great that immediate gratification frequently overshadows future rewards," the FEGS staff accept their need for quick employment with the hope that on-the-job satisfaction may encourage interest in long-range planning, if there is that potential at all. See Roland Baxt _et al._, "Specialized Vocational Service: A Program for Delinquent and Predelinquent Youth," _Crime and Delinquency_, Vol. 7, No. 1. (Jan. 1961), p. 63.

Successful counseling will lead the youth through the Service Corps or other work programs of Mobilization for Youth to effective employment in private enterprise. In some cases, it may lead him back to school.

Guidance and Counseling Services

The purposes of this division are as follows:

1. To help youth to make realistic plans for their vocational future.

2. To help certain youth enrolled in the Urban Youth Service Corps to make the best possible use of their subsidized work and training opportunities as a means to successful integration into the open job market.

3. To assist in the vocational efforts of tradtional neighborhood youth programs conducted by settlement houses, street-gang workers, and schools.

The functions of the division are:

1. To register and evaluate clients and keep personal records.

2. To counsel and test individuals and groups.

3. To issue work permits (by personnel assigned by the New York City Board of Education).

4. To make referrals to the Urban Youth Service Corps, the Placement Division, or special training and education.

5. To provide auxiliary guidance services to existing neighborhood youth programs.

6. To do follow-up counseling of clients placed in private employment.

7. To give vocational experience counseling to youngsters in the Urban Youth Service Corps.

Placement Services

All or most of the personnel of this division will be supplied by the Youth Employment Service of the New York State Employment Service.[23] The purposes of the division are (1) to foster more widespread employment of youth in private enterprise by intensively soliciting employers and (2) to coordinate and supplement all placement services offered for young workers in the Mobilization area.

The functions of the division are:

1. To register and refer youth to full-time and part-time employment in private business and industry.

2. To maintain up-to-date files on jobs for young workers.

3. To make and coordinate employer contracts and to solicit jobs for young workers.

4. To advise school work-experience and job-placment personnel.

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[23] Currently in New York City, the Youth Employment Service (YES), a special division of the New York State Employment Service (of the United States Employment Service), offers placement and limited guidance to youngsters between the ages of 16 and 19, provided that they are not on probation, addicted to narcotics, or blatantly homosexual. YES maintains a central office with testing facilities and a city-wide job register. In addition, counselors are assigned throughout the city to settlement houses and social agencies, especially to serve school dropouts. At the University Settlement on the Lower East Side, a counselor is paid in part by YES. We ask that the state assign a group of workers to participate in this experimental program.

Training Services

The work of this division can be subsumed under one basic aim: to improve the facilities and opportunities for job training for young people in the area. Its functions are as follows:

1. To maintain files on existing training programs accessible to youth in the project area, including apprenticeships, pre-employment courses, trade schools, and the like.

2. To advise school guidance counselors on suitable training facilities for individual youth.

3. To determine the need for and to establish short-term group-training programs to fill gaps in existing training facilities.

4. To provide staff services for all phases of training in Mobilization work programs.

5. To help recruit training assistants and counsultants for Mobilization for Youth work-training programs.

6. To conduct occupations-exploration tours for groups of youth to schools, businesses and industries, city departments, hospitals, and numerous other places of employment.

Promotion and Public Education

The purposes of this division are (1) to ensure that the community, especially its youth, is aware of existing employment opportunities and of Mobilization for Youth work and training programs; and (2) to develop community understanding and support of these programs.

The functions of the division are:

1. To publicize the employment services of the Youth Jobs Center and the work opportunities provided by the Urban Youth Service Corps.

2. To gather and disseminate to youth, their parents, and to youth-serving groups and programs information about occupational developments and trends.

3. To report evidence of discriminatory employment practices to appropriate governmental investigating agencies and to advise clients on the handling of these problems.

4. To conduct an intensive employer-education program regarding the feasibility and desirability of hiring young workers.[24]

5. To conduct specialized job campaigns. For example, a Civil Service Coordinator might be employed who would identify Civil Service jobs for which youth in the area could qualify, recruit, and select suitable youngsters, and help them in filling applications and preparing for examinations.

6. To maintain a library of guidance, training, and occupational materials for use of both staff and youth clients in all Mobilization for Youth employment programs.

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[24] Conclusions of the staff of the FEGS project, which youth-employment experts consider to have been relatively successful in placing difficult youth, underscore the need for intensive, skilled public-relations efforts. Despite the use of a citizens' advisory committee including employers and labor representatives and heavy newspaper and radio publicity, they reported continuing reluctance among employers to hire delinquents. Baxt, op. cit., p. 63.

The Staff

Each of the major divisions will be in the charge of a Division Supervisor. The total program will be administered by an Executive Director advised by the professional policy committee (see above). The requirements and qualifications of staff are as follows:

The Executive Director will be responsible for the recruitment, training, and supervision of all professional staff. The Director will be chosen on the basis of his academic and practical experience. It is desirable that he hold a Master of Arts degree in Vocational Guidance or a closely related field, have at least six years of guidance and placement experience, and possess high administrative and organizational competence and experience.

Because of the dimensions of the total program, it is also proposed that there be a supervisor for each of the four major divisions. The Supervisor of Guidance Services should hold an M.A. in Guidance or have equivalent educational training. He should also have considerable experience in supervising professional personnel and at least three years of counseling practice. For the first year of operation, a staff of six professionally trained Vocational Guidance Counselors is recommended for personal and group work, plus one Psychologist who is trained in personality and aptitude testing and interpretation. The counselors will be required to possess an M.A. degree in guidance or a closely related field, plus practical experience. The psychologist should have graduate training in psychology and several years of experience with youth.

In addition to a Supervisor with the necessary academic and experience qualifications, it is expected that the Placement Division will require three full-time Placement Counselors to do the intensive counseling and heavy field work we anticipate (telephone and personal job solicitation and on-the-job observations). Minimal qualifications for this position are an M.A. degree in Guidance or a closely-related field, or 15 credit hours of appropriate graduate study and six months' experience working with youth, or a B.A. degree plus one year of experience in youth work. It is also recommended that an Employment Coordinator be added to the Placement Division to help street-gang workers in dealing with the job problems of gang members. Street-gang workers find that one of the most effective ways of "reaching" gang members is to help them get a job. They also find this a most difficult task to accomplish and usually lack special training for it. The development of the Youth Jobs Center offers an excellent opportunity for giving the street-gang workers in the area some special assistance. The employment coordinator will not attempt to work directly with gang members, at least not at first. Instead, he will give job information and advice to the worker and will spend the bulk of this time in intensive personal cultivation of potential employers. It is hoped that in time the employment coordinator will be able to work directly with selected gang members, possibly as a result of contact developed in the Mobilization Coffee Shops (see Appendix A-5). He will then be able to make referrals of particular boys to specific employers. In some cases he will be able to refer gang members to guidance counselors at the Center, and perhaps to the Urban Youth Service Corps.

The Supervisor of Training Services should be a person of demonstrated competence in organizing and directing training programs for youth. He must have knowledge of and first-hand experience in training for a wide variety of occupations, industrial, clerical, retail and service, civil service, etc. It is desirable to provide at least one training assistant at the outset of the program to set up and direct specific training courses. Like the supervisor, this person will need to have several years of training and experience.

The Supervisor of Promotion and Public Education should be well trained and experienced in public relations. It is desirable that he be a graduate of an accredited school of journalism and have at least three years' local (New York City) journalistic and public-relations experience. Two other full-time staff persons are recommended for this division: one to gather and disseminate occupational information, and the other, a Civil Service Coordinator. The prime requisite of these positions is a thorough knowledge of occupations and the labor market; the occupants should also have had experience in working directly with young people.

Other Programs to Overcome Occupational Barriers

It is hoped that the foregoing work programs, plus the educational programs of Mobilization, will help to overcome the barriers facing "the slum child in the slum school." To the extent that they are successful, jobs will become more accessible to lower-class youngsters.

The Mobilization program also seeks to make jobs more accessible to young people in the area by attempting to remove arbitrary or discriminatory barriers based upon race, ethnicity, or age. This will require (1) identifying the groups within the community which are engaged in restrictive practices, (2) publicizing their activities, and (3) persuading them or putting pressure on them to change. Mobilizing public action or stimulating private efforts in these directions will be largely the task of local community agencies and the indigenous social organization. Adolescents may also play a part. Local and city leaders with sufficient influence to effect change, many of whom serve within Mobilization or LENA councils, will also be called upon.

Both New York City and New York State support agencies charged with the prevention of discriminatory employment practices. Both appeal to community groups to make evidence of such practices available, since they are not permitted to take preventive action on their own initiative. One function of the Youth Jobs Center, therefore, will be to work closely with those agencies, providing the "grist-for-the-mill" which they may require, as well as directly exerting effort to effect changes in criteria regarding youngsters accepted for employment and training.

To some extent, job accessibility will also be increased by the conscious effort of staff to provide in the Youth Jobs Center a link between the youngster and work-training opportunities. Like the gang worker who mediates between his group members and community institutions, the vocational worker will play this mediating role for youngsters in the job arena.

Training Vocational Personnel

The employment programs of Mobilization for Youth will require a large number of well-trained and experienced guidance, placement, and vocational-training personnel. These will include almost the entire staff of the Youth Jobs Center, as well as several administrators of the Urban Youth Service Corps. Potential sources of staff include:

1. Persons now employed in other programs — e.g., private and public vocational agencies, schools, colleges.

2. Experienced but currently inactive persons.

3. Graduate students in the fields of guidance and psychology who are near completion of their study.

4. Undergraduate students who, through recruitment efforts, may develop interest in the fields of vocational training.

The appropriate channels for recruitment include the Professional Division of theNew York State Employment Service, private employment agencies handling vocational personnel, college and university student-personnel offices, and advertisements in professional publications.

Because Mobilization will not provide permanent employment to its staff, it seems essential to offer special incentives in order to attract well-qualified personnel who will stay in the program for the five-year duration of the experiment. Salaries should be scaled above those prevailing. Benefits — insurance, retirement plans, vacation, etc. — must be comparable to those of the better established agencies in the city.

Orientation

An initial training-orientation program is planned for the professional staff of the Jobs Center and the Corps. For persons hired later in the program, a repeat training course — modified approximately according to the number of persons involved — will also be needed, possibly more than one.

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25. If the Jobs Center is set up under Mobilization as a cooperative venture of several established vocational agencies in New York City, the staffing of the program will be greatly facilitated. It is possible that the cooperating agencies will supply selected members of their permanent staff to the Center to equal one-third to one-half of the total staff requirement.

It is suggested that training be set up by an advisory Board of Directors drawn from the major vocational agencies in the city, in close cooperation with one of the universities in New York City and a graduate school of social work. Services of a division chief would be needed to assist in organizing recruitment programs, coordinate training, and develop the curriculum.

A four-week, five-day-a-week program is proposed for the initial course. This institute should include both classroom lectures and discussion and field visits in the Mobilization area. Training staff for the institute will be drawn from the sponsoring agencies as well as from the colleges and universities of the area.

The training-orientation session should cover at least the following content:

1. Aims and scope of Mobilization for Youth, underlying hypotheses and assumptions, broad program plans, goals for action and research, work and work-related programs.

2. Orientation to the neighborhood and people to be served by MFY — population characteristics and trends; educational and employment outlook of the area's youth; neighborhood needs and resources such as housing, schools, family and youth-serving agencies, etc.; the life styles of low-income , marginal families; special problems, such as delinquency, narcotics addiction, dependency.

3. Purposes and functions of the Youth Jobs Center, the Urban Youth Corps, and other work programs for youth.

4. The counseling process — a review or booster course in the initial interview and subsequent counseling, testing and the interpretation of test results, and referral possibilities.

Crew leaders and work foreman of the Corps will also need orientation. It may be deemed feasible to enroll them in the sessions outlined above, which deal with the general background of Mobilization for Youth and the neighborhood. Separate sessions would be added for them in preparation for their own special functions in the Corps.

Long-range Training

Essential to the maintenance of a full complement of well-trained staff is a sound in-service training program. Also important is an educational program focused upon the special work needs of disadvantaged youngsters. To achieve these ends, cooperative arrangements with local universities will be developed.

It is suggested that graduate scholarships and fellowships be made available to students enrolled in accredited graduate training in guidance and psychology. Funds for new university-based experimental courses are also required.

Three scholarship variations are suggested:

1. A one-year (30 semester hours) program for a Master's degree on a stipend of $2,200.

2. A one-year (45 semester hours) M.A. program on a stipend of $3,300.

3. A one-year or two-year program leading to an advanced certificate or a doctorate. This would be a fellowship open to persons who have considerable experience in the field, in preparation for supervisory capacity in Mobilization programs. A grant of $4,500 is recommended ($1,500, tuition; $3,000, fellowship) for each year.

It is proposed that these programs be offered with a requirement of at least one year of service with Mobilization for each year of receipt of stipend. Although there is little precedent for this in the field of guidance graduate study, the nature of the Mobilization experiment would surely warrant such an arrangement.

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Appendix A - 2

THE WORLD OF EDUCATION

Mobilization for Youth

Education is the principal means by which young people achieve occupational mobility. Their fortunes in the world of work thus depend in large part on the adequacy of the educational experiences made available to them. The lower-class child, we need hardly point out, is severely handicapped in this respect.

The educational problems of lower-class youth are not by any means the responsibility of the school alone. In the lower-class family, the need to concentrate upon bare economic survival severely limits the amount of attention parents can allocate to the "non-essential" activity of stimulating their children's intellectual growth or planning their educational future. Further, the crowding, lack of privacy, and disorder characteristic of family life in many slums are poor preparation for the quiet, orderly classroom. Differentials by social class in this respect have been described by the Institute for Developmental Studies: "The lower-class home seems to be characterized by a lot of background noise and very little sustained verbal communication, while the middle-class environment seems to be almost the reverse." Thus, the lower-class child entering school is ill-prepared for the classroom setting in which he is continually called upon to speak or be spoken to. With less demand made upon him in the home, the lower-class youngster has less need to develop a sustained attention span or a high degree of articulateness; since thought processes are dependent upon the use of language, the result is underdevelopment of abstract thinking.

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1. Institute for Developmental Studies, Descriptive Statement, New York: New York Medical College, 1960, p. 2.

Intellectual stimulation in the form of books, recordings, trips, and the like is lacking in the lower-class home, for purely economic reasons if not for others as well. The youngster who has seen his parents read books, as have most middle-class children, enters school identified with people who are literate. His lower-class counterpart is less often exposed to experiences that whet his intellectual curiosity.

The lower-class child is also handicapped educationally by the inexperience of his parents, which limits their ability to prepare their youngster for school success; for example, they lack the knowledge as well as the time to help with homework. Shyness and suspicion further inhibit the lower-class parent from demonstrating his interest by visiting the school, discussing his child's progress, and, when necessary, intervening in the child's behalf. The child, therefore, receives little support in his attempt to bridge these two adult worlds.

In view of their cultural deprivation, lower-class children require special attention in school. If they receive short shrift, their handicaps are multiplied.

The principle of equality of opportunity in American education has been taken to mean not only that all children have the right to a public school education but also that individual differences in learning must be taken into account. In our view, equality of opportunity implies, further, that cultural and economic (i.e., class) differences among children need to be similarly considered. Unless the school can gear its program to the class and ethnic background of the child, unless it attempts to reverse the educational handicaps originating in economic deprivation, equality of opportunity is more than half fiction.

It has been posited that 95 percent of school teachers in the United States are middle-class in orientation.[2] As a group they were born into the lower-middle class and acquired full middle-class status through professional education.[3] It is conceivable that some of such upwardly mobile persons may regard youngsters who do not already exhibit middle-class attributes as lacking in ambition or intelligence. Regardless of the training pupils have received at home, teachers expect them to be polite, neat, clean, and well behaved. The result of this attutude may be misunderstanding and resentment, which further isolates the youngster from broadening adult influences.

A study of two schools in a deprived area of New York City indicates that "for the most part, the teachers felt alien to the community within which they worked, and with one or two exceptions, they themselves lived in other neighborhoods."[4] The teachers, however, blamed the school administrators, charging that they "had no appreciation of the special problems existing in the education of the lower-class, and most specifically the Negro and Puerto Rican child," and "were always imposing an educational orientation which was exclusively developed for a middle-class population who have very different preparations for learning."[5] Whoever is responsible, the school system is essentially an extension of the values found in the average middle-class home. Thus it is strange territory for the lower-class youngster.

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[2] Allison Davis, "What Are Some of the Basic Issues in the Relation of Intelligence Tests to Cultural Background?" in Kenneth Eells *et al.*, eds., *Intelligence and Cultural Differences*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951, p. 26.

[3] Donald Super, *The Psychology of Careers*, New York: Harper & Bros., 1957, p. 108. See also Robert J. Havighurst and Bernice Neugarten, *Society and Education*, Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1957, p. 265.

[4] Martin P. Deutsch, *Minority-Group and Class Status as Related to Social and Personality Factors in Scholastic Achievement*, New York: the Society for Applied Anthropology, Monograph No. 2, 1960, p. 25.

[5] *Ibid*.

The typical school curriculum is middle-class oriented. While Lower East Side teachers and administrators struggle to relate content to the experiences of deprived city youngsters, often with creative results, they find little support for this undertaking in the texts and materials with which they are supplied.

The New York State Department of Education requires that seventh-graders take a course in the history of the state, and thus youngsters from hot city pavements learn of Henry Hudson's trip down the cool river. However, the history of Negro and Puerto Rican people, or even of lower-class heroes, is not generally integrated throughout the curriculum; nor is there significant encouragement for the study of the social problems generated by urban slums. A study of one lower-class school in New York City charges that Negro children strongly question their own competencies because the larger society expects inferior performance from them; yet "the middle-class orientation of the school helps little in recognizing the realities of the problem, and contributes little toward the development of value systems and activities directed toward breaking this circular dynamic process."[6]

The need for special courses geared to the development of work habits and skills and an understanding of the occupational structure and the problems of workers has been emphasized by Dr. James B. Conant: "What goes on in the school ought to be conditioned in large measure by the nature of the families being served, the vocational plans and aspirations of the student, and employment opportunities."[7] In many cities, for example, vocational schools have become to a large extent segregated institutions, populated chiefly by minority-group members. Minority action groups have therefore opposed work-experience programs, on the ground that they will tend to restrict the aspirations, job opportunities, and training of minority-group members to manual occupations.

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[6] Ibid., p. 11.

Teachers and supervisory personnel are needed who can feel and transmit a sense of appreciation of all peoples, whatever their occupation, ethnic background, class status; who are sensitive to the mutual fears and suspicions that often exist between the teacher and the lower-class child or parent; who can make a realistic appraisal of the "life chances" of youngsters who live in slum communities. For teachers and supervisory personnel to exhibit such responsiveness requires support from top administrative personnel. There is precedent for this within the New York City system, as attested by Higher Horizons and other related projects. The interest of Lower East Side and city-wide school officials in the Mobilization for Youth project confirms the availability of that support.

Because of the difficulty of teaching lower-class children, and the lack of adequate compensation, many teachers become eager to leave the slum school. A study of the career patterns of Chicago public-school teachers documents the fact that teachers normally begin their careers in lower-class neighborhoods, where there are more vacancies, and transfer out as soon as they can.[8] Thus teachers in slum schools are generally less experienced.

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[7] James B. Conant, "Social Dynamite in Our Large Cities," Speech before the Conference on Unemployed, Out-of-School Youth in Urban Areas, Washington, D.C., May 24, 1961, p. 9.

[8] Howard Becker, "The Career of the Chicago Public School Teacher," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 57, No. 5 (Mar. 1952), pp. 423-26.

The effect of this situation is especially unfortunate when one considers the characteristic instability of a slum, not to mention the economic uncertainties of slum youngsters' lives and the frequent changes in the composition of their family. It is important that the school, as represented by its teachers, be a constant, stable, omnipresent force in the community.

Because of the greater control problem posed by lower-class pupils and the greater turnover of teachers in slum schools, lower-class youngsters receive less actual instructional time than do school children in middle-class neighborhoods. Indeed, one study of a deprived-area school indicated that as much as 80 percent of the school day was devoted to discipline or organizational detail; even with the best teachers this figure never fell below 50 percent.[9] While these figures may be high, or unique to the particular school which was studied, problems in discipline and teacher turnover must inevitably limit instruction time in lower-class schools. In such instances, the role and self-image of the teacher may be transformed from instructor to that of monitor.

The generic problems of the school system — i.e., oversized classes, split shifts, inadequate staffing, the dearth of specialized services, etc. — are especially problematic for lower-class youngsters. For example, while an accepted New York State standard is 300 pupils to one guidance counselor in junior and senior high schools, ratios in New York City are 641 to one in the high schools, and 1,710 to one in junior high schools.[10]

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[9] Deutsch, op. cit., p. 23.

[10] Rose Shapiro, Report of the Mayor's Conference on Labor, Industry, and Employment, New York: New York City Youth Board, 1961, pp. 25-26.

Still larger guidance loads are usual in elementary schools, and many such schools have no guidance person at all. In vocational high schools, which as a rule serve children from deprived backgrounds, counselors are assigned as many as 1,000 pupils each.[11] Other specialties are similarly understaffed.

The educational problems of lower-class youth require closer integration of the school, the home, and the local community. Local people should be involved in decision-making regarding school matters in order to increase their understanding and awareness of school problems and to make the school more sensitive to their needs. Parent-school programs should be developed which explore every means of establishing meaningful contact. Those for parents of junior-high-school students are especially important, for children of this age are at the crossroads between legitimate and illegitimate ways, between purposive career planning and the anticipation of failure. The programs must take account of the fear and suspicion with which many lower-income parents regard the school, formal education, and school-related organizations. The school must provide parent education, not only within its doors, but in other facilities somewhat less intimidating to lower-class parents. To the extent that they succeed in upgrading the value of education among lower-class adults, programs which foster their education, participation, and decision-making increase the potential of parents as learning models.

Special programs must be developed to overcome the economic and cultural deprivations of lower-income children and additional aids provided to teachers so that they can devote more instructional time to these children, whose need is the greatest. Efforts must be made to recruit new teachers for deprived-neighborhood schools and to reduce the turnover of teachers assigned to such schools. The supply of specialized personnel must be increased and a curriculum developed that is closely related to the unique abilities, interests, and experiences of those whom it is designed to serve. The curriculum ought to provide opportunities for the use of manual, mechanical, and artistic skills, so that linguistic ability will not be the sole criterion of success. It ought to draw on readers and other materials with content more relevant to the experience of lower-class youngsters than the traditional "Dick and Jane." It should eliminate textbooks with subtle derogatory references to minority groups; finally, it should highlight the culture and contribution of Negroes, Puerto Ricans, and working people.

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[11] *Ibid.*, p. 26.

The Mobilization programs in the "world of education" are designed to meet all these needs. To maximize the access of lower-class youth to the means of attaining legitimate aspirations, the action task encompasses three major objectives: increasing the school's responsiveness to lower-class life-style, improving the potential of parents as learning models, and enriching the learning environment.

Many of the school programs described below are interrelated. For purposes of convenience only, they are grouped under five major headings: (1) teacher training; (2) curriculum improvement, including reading-enrichment programs; (3) parent-school relations; (4) other elementary-school programs; and (5) other guidance and personnel services.

Teacher Training

A highly qualified, well-trained, stable teaching staff is one of the keys to increasing educational opportunities for children and youth. Many youngsters who come from broken homes, impoverished environments, and neighborhoods of limited opportunity do not choose the path of delinquency. Some of these children have been "reached" by the schools, and, in many instances, it is contact with a single, dedicated teacher that makes the difference between delinquency and conformity.

Principals and school administrators point out that most teachers do not choose voluntarily to work in the Mobilization-area schools; they are assigned to these schools. Many young teachers "serve their time" there and leave as soon as possible for other, more favored schools or for marriage. In the case of the "600" schools, however, there is less scarcity of applicants. There are indications that what attracts teachers to these schools for "difficult" youngsters is not the small salary increment provided but, rather, the fact that classes are small and that in-service training and adequate instructional materials are provided.

To overcome the educational barriers which stem from the difficulties in recruiting competent teachers and the high incidence of teacher turnover, proposals have been developed at both the pre-service and the in-service level.

School-Community Relations Course

In-service training should make teachers aware of and sympathetic toward the cultural heritage, economic problems, and individual life-styles of their pupils. It is proposed, therefore, that an intensive School-Community Relations Course for in-service teachers be established in six elementary schools in the Mobilization area.

The course will stress such topics as the importance of good school-community relations and their potential effects upon pupil achievement; mobilizing the community for education; the effects of in-migration on public schools; the conflict between lower-class characteristics and the middle-class emphasis of the public schools; social organization and the problems of participation; interviewing techniques (how to talk with working-class parents); the parent's role in fostering pupil readiness, and the steps teachers can take to implement it; parent-child relationships in working-class and non-English-speaking homes; guidance (heightening pupil perceptions of existing opportunities; adjusting the school program to the needs of lower-class youth); working with specialized staff; developing and utilizing community resources. Facts and concepts will be explored with the goal of modifying attitudes and behavior and developing needed skills and insights. One focal point will be the non-intellectual factors affecting learning and instruction. In-service-training, alertness, or college credits will be offered to teachers who participate in the course.

A minimum of three qualified instructors -- a professional educator, a sociologist, and a social worker -- will be hired to teach the course for the six elementary schools. These instructors will be persons experienced in the problems of the Mobilization area. Other resource persons will be involved as required. Working as a team, the instructors, the Director of Education appointed jointly by the cooperating training institution and Mobilization, and the District Coordinator of In-Service Education will refine the content of the course, develop course materials, arrange for the participation of resource persons from various specialized areas, and stimulate the enlistment of teachers in the program. Semi-monthly after-school sessions, one or two hours in length, will be held throughout the school year, to be preceded by a series of more frequent workshops. In all, more than 30 semester hours will be required. Groups will consist of 15 to 25 teachers.

As part of the course, teachers will be encouraged to visit the homes of their pupils to discover for themselves the nature of the home environment, to enlist the aid of parents in creating a more effective learning environment for their children, and to encourage parents to visit the school and participate in school-community activities. The techniques and procedures for effective home visits will be discussed and demonstrated by groups of social workers. Initial visits will be made by the teacher and some other staff worker who has already acquired the skills and status needed for effective communication with parents -- perhaps a social worker or a guidance counselor assigned to the cooperating school. The latter will also channel referrals for parental help to the Mobilization Neighborhood Service Centers, as required. Training for visits will be provided through role-playing, group discussions, expert demonstrations, and other appropriate techniques. Where parents are non-English-speaking, a bilingual team will make the visit. Anecdotal records of home visits will be kept for both school-program planning and in-service discussions. Teachers will also visit selected community agencies to explore informal education possibilities to which the youngsters are or may be exposed.

Although there would be some advantages in releasing teachers from the classroom for participation in this program, these must be weighed against the possible drawbacks. Released time might shrink the instructional time available for children. Some teachers prefer after-school meetings to arrangements which cut into their instruetional time. Early dismissal of the children in the Mobilization area may be unwise since in many cases this will mean a complete absence of supervision.

Each teacher participating in the course will be paid a stipend of $300.00 per year for the additional services being rendered -- home visiting and record-keeping. (The precedent for paying participants in in-service programs has been set in the past few years through such sponsored programs as those of the National Science Foundation.) In addition, in-service training, "alertness," or college credits will be offered. These credits will bring salary increases for most teachers.

Basic objectives: The objective of this proposal is to increase teaching effectiveness by:

1. Helping teachers to identify the unique cultural and social needs of families in the area and thus increasing their awareness of lower-class life-styles, as background for more accurate assessment of children's actions and potential.

2. Providing experiences through which teachers in service may communicate with one another; examine their own and others' values, attitudes, procedures, and problems; and obtain information, ideas, and encouragement.

3. Encouraging teachers to seek first-hand information about the home environments and parent-child relationships of their pupils.

4. Helping teachers to identify and develop the latent talents in their pupils by examining materials and methods which have proved successful with other lower-class children.

A secondary set of objectives of this proposal is to assist visited parents to help their children by:

1. Creating additional channels of communication between parents and teachers.

2. Informing parents more fully of their children's school problems and progress.

3. Increasing parental understanding of what is required for school success, and acceptance of the value of public-school education

for their children.

4. Encouraging parents to accept increased responsibility for the solution of family, community, and school problems.

5. Referring parents in need of help to organizations and agencies where specialized help may be obtained.

Basic assumptions: The program will test four hypotheses with respect to in-service training and teaching effectiveness:

1. An in-service program of the kind outlined will develop in teachers greater understanding and acceptance of pupils. After such a program, teachers will be more effective in encouraging pupils to satisfy their needs in socially acceptable ways.

2. Teacher morale will rise as teachers identify with activities that are important to pupils and their parents and community.

3. Teachers who participate in this program will become more familiar with lower-class ways of life and more responsive to the status needs and problems of working-class youngsters and their parents. As a consequence, they will seek to alter classroom conditions to attain more effective learning. There is also an assumption that greater insights into the home and community backgrounds of the children are as valuable in modifying instructional practices as insights into modern mathematics and sciences.

4. Parents will come to accept the importance of public-school education for their children and be better able to provide them with substantive help as a result of successful home visits by teachers. Youngsters will thus be helped to bridge the gap between the two worlds of home and school.

Laboratory School

Pre-service teachers perceive the schools in the Mobilization area as "difficult." This image comes, to a large extent, from second- or third-hand sources. In their pre-service training, college students have limited contact with schools in culturally depressed areas. Some of the municipal teacher-preparing institutions assign students to Mobilization schools, but the number of student-teachers -- and of their college supervisors as well -- is limited.

It is proposed, therefore, that one elementary school and one junior high school be designated as "laboratory schools" for a Metropolitan-area teacher-preparing institution. At a laboratory school, pre-service student teachers could be provided with continuing opportunities to observe, teach, study, and learn at first hand the realities of teaching culturally deprived pupils. The training institution would have a complete situation for research and experimentation in the conditions for effective education in culturally deprived schools. The two schools would gain the services of teacher aides, the valuable resources of the college, and the benefits of ongoing research and experimentation.

A Laboratory-School Coordinator should be based in each of the two schools. The coordinator will be general supervisor of observation and participation experiences in the school. He will be the liaison person between the school and the college teacher-training programs.

The Coordinator will conduct regular seminar practicums at the laboratory schools, assisted by cooperating teachers, college staff members, and outside resource persons. Practicum topics might include:

1. The role of the school in a culturally deprived urban area.

2. Differences in life-style -- values, attitudes, aspirations, goals, and family structure -- between middle-class, working-class, and minority groups.

3. Identification of students who need help -- those with unusual abilities, the handicapped, the disturbed, the retarded, etc. -- and techniques and procedures for assessing individual potential, especially situational and performance tests rather than verbal and linguistic examinations.

4. Modified methods and materials for teaching culturally deprived youngsters, more appropriate than those common to the suburban and non-urban classrooms.

5. Methods of integrating programs and other community resources, including all recreational or educative agencies.

6. Techniques and procedures for working with parents unfamiliar with educational traditions, school, and teachers.

The seminar-practicum will use discussion, demonstration, role-playing, and other appropriate instructional techniques. Kinescopes might be made of classroom situations for discussion and analysis. The seminar-practicum might also produce and test materials as part of the preparation for teaching.

The college students will work in classrooms as teacher aides, individual and small-group instructors, and student teachers. Practice-teaching experiences will be arranged under the joint supervision of local cooperating teachers and college supervisory personnel.

The cooperating teachers will be faculty regulars who have demonstrated competence in working with their pupils. They will have the opportunity to take tuition-free courses in the cooperating university. Students will also serve as individual and small-group tutors outside the classroom. For example, the student teacher might attempt to teach the process of problem-solving to pupils who are having unusual study difficulties.

Basic objectives: The objective of this plan is to recruit competent, well-trained teachers into the schools of the Mobilization area. Exposure to successful experiences in the schools during the idealistic pre-service period can affect the basic attitudes of the student teacher toward teaching less privileged children. The best training for teachers of culturally deprived youngsters involves considerable first-hand contact with such pupils under realistic conditions but with some assurance of essentially positive experiences. Close supervision by experienced teachers, the availability of adequate assistance, and access to appropriate materials are likely to provide such assurance.

Basic assumptions: Training in small groups with an anthropologist, sociologist, or group worker can help build the empathy, confidence, and skill that will enable the young teacher to avoid feeling that assignment to a less privileged area is a distasteful probationary period, preliminary to an easier or more attractive post. Although this feeling may be widespread, Cohen also found in a study of morale in four schools in low-privileged areas that their teachers "felt that there are actually some compensations for teaching in a depressed area: greater prestige in the eyes of the citizenry, less parent encroachment upon the province of the school and less competitive spirit among teachers."[12]

It is also assumed that the children in these schools will profit from having immediate access to personnel who can provide tutorial, remedial, and individualized enrichment opportunities, while assisting the classroom teacher.

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[12] Gloria Cohen, The Effect of the Socio-Economic Status of the School Community Upon Teacher Morale, New York: New York University School of Education, Doctoral Dissertation, 1959.

Training for Improved Language Arts Instruction

Reading and language skills make or mar academic success. Because the school program has a high verbal content, scholastic accomplishment relates directly to reading comprehension, writing, speech fluency, and the like. School failure, conversely, springs primarily from difficulties in the basic skill subjects. The child who is able to manipulate language tools skillfully also is more likely to win the teacher's approval. On the other hand, the child who has little interest or ability in mastering these essentials may never succeed in school, no matter how great his creativity and problem-solving ability. Youngsters with a cultural deficiency enter school with certain handicaps in communication. The retardation continues and affects all their other learning.

The basic causes of reading disabilities are many -- mental, physiological, emotional, environmental and social, and educational. It is proposed that the teaching of reading and of English as a second language be the focus of several studies to ascertain the most effective means of providing instruction and remedial help to children in the Mobilization area.

Intensive in-service training will be provided for all elementary-school teachers of non-English-speaking pupils. These courses will focus specifically on the techniques of language instruction and the use and adaptation of methods and materials especially developed for teaching English as a second language. The courses will be taught by persons experienced in the teaching of English as a second language and in working with culturally deprived children and youth.

A series of workshops will be conducted in the Mobilization area to develop classroom materials for diagnosing reading difficulties and for improving the instruction of culturally deprived youngsters in the reading and language skills. These workshops will enable experienced teachers to share their insights, techniques, and materials with less experienced teachers.

Professional literature on the teaching of reading and language pays little attention to the peculiar problems of culturally deprived urban youngsters. Public School 614-M has found over the years that slow readers are deficient in the following areas: language facility, cultural background, auditory perception and discrimination, visual perception and discrimination, ability to blend phonetic elements, and visual memory. The principal and staff have devised a multisensory-kinesthetic approach to the teaching of reading which takes account of the factors which appear to cause reading deficiency among these pupils. A "Suggested Teaching Outline for Remedial Reading" has been prepared. Other schools and other teachers have designed and adapted materials which are appropriate for youngsters in the Mobilization area. To exploit these developments, it is proposed that specialists be assigned to draw together curricular practices and to initiate studies into the unique reading difficulties of Mobilization-area youngsters.

Curriculum Improvement

The proposals in the school action program are based in part on the hypothesis that academic retardation among culturally deprived children can be reversed by revising curriculum content in accordance with the needs of children, modifying teaching techniques and practices, and producing more realistic and appropriate teaching-learning resources. To systematize these varied efforts, a central curriculum committee is needed.

Curriculum Planning Committee

It is proposed that a Curriculum Planning Committee be established for the purpose of initiating, stimulating, and coordinating the planning, production, and testing of educational proposals and materials. Participation in the School-Community Relations Course will be one criterion for membership on the Curriculum Planning Committee after the in-service training program is instituted. Each Mobilization-area school will have one member on the central committee, preferably a key instructional leader.

An advisory committee of specialists from various institutions of higher education and other educational agencies will be formed to counsel the central coordinating committee. Specialists will be hired for consultation on specific curriculum proposals as these emerge.

A local educator should be appointed chairman of the Curriculum Planning Committee. The chairman would be located at the District Superintendent's office and would serve as a liaison between the Mobilization-area schools, the Curriculum Planning Committee, and the District Superintendent's office.

School Curriculum Coordinator

It is proposed that a Curriculum Coordinator be appointed for 12 elementary schools in the Mobilization area. The Coordinator will be, in effect, a combination master-teacher, curriculum consultant, and supervisor at his school. He will be an experienced classroom teacher who has demonstrated the ability to work successfully with culturally deprived children.

The Curriculum Coordinator will be responsible for synchronizing instruction-improvement efforts in his elementary school. He will work closely with the Mobilization-area Curriculum Planning Committee and with the Curriculum Materials Production Center to ensure prompt response to the requests and suggestions of classroom teachers for particular kinds of material.

The Coordinator will observe classroom teaching regularly and provide supervisory assistance to teachers. He will be available for small-group or individual conferences and discussions with classroom teachers. He will assist the teachers in locating and obtaining audio-visual and printed materials, including those developed by the Curriculum Materials Center. He will encourage the local production and field trials of teaching materials and their evaluation and adoption by the schools.

The Coordinator will maintain contact with the Special Services Teachers and the subject specialists working with the classroom teacher. He will meet regularly with other Coordinators under the auspices of the Curriculum Planning Committee to share experiences and to adapt possible solutions found in other elementary schools. The Coordinators will serve as liaison between the schools and the community in a campaign for cultural and educational enrichment for the youngsters in elementary schools.

Basic assumptions: The major hypotheses to be tested through the use of School Curriculum Coordinators are as follows:

1. Teaching effectiveness will be increased if the classroom teacher perceives a source of help with her instructional problems. The Coordinator, whose full-time responsibility is synchronizing curriculum-improvement efforts and activities, is in a unique position to pinpoint problem areas and spot deficiencies as a first step in correction.

2. The Coordinator will be able to identify appropriate situations for using resource specialists.

3. The Curriculum Coordinator can be assigned by the principal to conduct conferences with teachers concerning instructional problems, new ideas, or suggestions for coping with classroom problems.

Curriculum Materials Production Center

Researchers and educators have charged that primary-level instructional materials are middle-class in bias and unrealistic to lower-class children. Tannenbaum, for example, found Textbook Town a world of sweetness and light, in which characters are mere shadows and nothing exciting or important happens. He observed:

> To the lower-class child it looms as a "never-never world" that may excite in him vague dreams of attainment, but which will probably elude him forever. He finds it only less improbable than the fairyland he encounters in fable, except that the plots and characters in the latter type of literature are far more memorable. [13]

There is a need for instructional materials of all kinds which are more realistic, more interesting, and more meaningful to the culturally deprived youngsters than what is available. There is also a generally accepted need for individualized instruction. However, large classes and the diversity of abilities, interests, and attainments make individualization difficult if not impossible. The use of programmed instructional materials may help to overcome some of these difficulties. It is proposed, therefore, that a Curriculum Materials Center be established, either at the District Superintendent's office or at one of the elementary schools in the Mobilization area, in which appropriate reading materials and self-instruction materials can be developed and tested. The responsibilities of this Center would be as follows:

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[13] Abraham J. Tannenbaum, "Family Living in Textbook Town," Progressive Education, Vol. 31 (March 1954), pp. 133-40.

1. To examine bulletins and curriculum guides already developed to see how these can be applied or modified to suit the needs of pupils in the Mobilization area; to publish a bulletin for all teachers in the area, containing information about the facilities of the Center and the suggestions of the Committee.

2. To locate materials which teachers in the area have found useful with culturally deprived youngsters. Individual teachers in the district have been tailoring materials to the backgrounds and cultural levels of students in their classes, when textbooks proved disillusioning. Such materials will be collected and studied by the Center and tested for broader use.

3. To locate or produce materials which crystallize the contributions of Negroes, Puerto Ricans, immigrants, and working-class cultures as the theme for reading and language-arts materials. The materials will be designed to enhance the children's self-images as members of minority, immigrant, and in-migrant groups. Skilled teachers will be employed (on a full-time basis in the summer or on a part-time basis after school) to produce materials which reflect the experiences of the children for whom they are intended. One teacher in PS 621, for example, has woven into reading-improvement work-sheets such aspects of everyday living as how to make sound purchases, how to find one's way around the neighborhood, how to locate community resources, and how to apply for a job.

4. To initiate and coordinate the development of programmed instructional materials, in order to provide auto-instruction in reading, spelling, arithmetic, and other basic skills for both teaching and remedial

purposes. Available programs would probably not be especially useful to Mobilization-area children, but they could be adapted to appeal to culturally deprived youngsters. The Center for Programmed Instruction, which has been developing materials for a variety of subjects and grade levels, might serve as the agency for developing programmed instructional materials specifically aimed at the needs of pupils in the Mobilization area. The claims made for programmed instructional materials are:

a. Teaching-learning is individualized in that the child works at his own rate.

b. The learning steps are small and discrete, involving some reading, recall, and the construction of a response. Immediate feedback is provided as to the correctness of the pupil's response, and he is rewarded for successful responses.

c. The learner is actively involved in the learning process.

d. Programmed materials can be developed to provide for direct instruction and for remedial exercises.

e. The pupil is taught some of the techniques of objective-type test-taking as he engages in the step-by-step use of the programmed materials.

5. To maintain a Curriculum Laboratory with all types of instructional material which teachers can examine, borrow, test, and assess for their value in teaching youngsters in Mobilization-area schools. Audio-visual materials of all kinds — films, film-strips, pictures, manipulative materials, tapes, records, etc. — which can be used in classrooms could be located and secured. A regular publication circulated to teachers and

principals in the district could call attention to the availability of new instructional materials.

Reading Centers

Reading Centers should be established in each of the elementary schools in the area. These centers will offer materials at a variety of grade and interest levels. Each center will be equipped with instructional devices for the cultivation of reading techniques, vocabulary and background skills, independent and personal reading, and widening appreciation of reading materials. These resources should be tempting as well as effective.

Individualized materials such as the SRA Reading Laboratory, learning games (e.g., phonics, spelling, geography, and basic arithmetic processes), and locally-produced materials will be provided in abundance.

In 1958 the Bureau of Audio-Visual Instruction initiated a study of the value of specialized reading equipment for the elementary, junior-, and senior-high levels. Included were such devices as the Keystone Tachistoscope, the Controlled Reader, the Perceptoscope, the Reading Accelerator, and the Shadowscope. The devices usually assume a certain amount of pupil motivation and desire to achieve certain ends. It is proposed that, as the program develops, these devices be made available and tested with culturally deprived youngsters, who are not necessarily motivated or even interested in the learning task set by the machine. At the same time, the possibilities for modifying such devices can be explored.

Reading Clinics

Reading Clinics with diagnostic and remedial services should be established at two elementary schools in order to identify difficulties as early as possible and seek remedies in the hopeful primary years.

One model for a reading clinic might be the one operating at PS 614-M, which diagnoses reading difficulties from several perspectives: physical (medical examination, eye test, etc.); social, including medical and social reports by a Bureau of Child Guidance social worker; psychological, using psychometric and psychological testing and a case conference involving the psychiatrist-led clinical team, the principal, and the remedial reading teacher. Instructional activities are then carried on in groups of not more than five individuals, each group meeting for 80 minutes twice a week, with the efforts directed toward teaching the cognitive skills and reading.

Contracts should be made with one or more metropolitan-area universities and colleges to supervise the establishment of these reading clinics in the two elementary schools with the greatest number of reading problems. The universities or colleges should be those which already maintain campus reading clinics. The contracts would call for the elementary schools to provide space and the college or university to assign the specialist supervisory staff and remedial-clinician trainees. The institutions of higher education thus would gain a laboratory for training students and the elementary schools would acquire supervised remedial-clinic services, plus the possibility that trained personnel might become available for employment in the Mobilization area.

The colleges and universities already use some of the schools for student teaching. At least two municipal colleges have assigned student teachers to "difficult" schools where, under professional supervision, they have the opportunity to experience some success in teaching culturally deprived pupils. In a very small pilot project, one of the municipal colleges found that many graduates returned for jobs in the school where they had had successful supervised student-teaching experiences. This plan proposes that the laboratory experiences be extended to the development of specialized personnel in reading and psychological services. Apparently, the key to success in the student-teaching experience was the proximity of skilled supervisory personnel at all times. Therefore, a skilled supervisor of a reading clinic should be appointed.

Parent-School Relations

Many Mobilization-area parents are reluctant to visit the schools their children attend, do not become involved in the activities of school-related organizations, and tend to react negatively or indifferently to formal adult-education classes. These are parents who have not been reached through the usual channels of communication between school and home. Many of the Parent-Teacher Associations are described by the principals as weak and ineffective.

Parent Education Coordinators

It is proposed that a program of educational opportunities for parents of junior-high-school youth be established.

One or two Parent Education Coordinators (PEC) should be appointed for each of the five junior high schools and the two "600" schools serving the Mobilization area. The PEC will be a semiprofessional staff member serving at the level of the Substitute Auxiliary Teacher under the supervision of the District Community Coordinator. He (or she) should live in the area to be serviced, be familiar with the local life-styles, be identifiable with or responsive to minority groups, and be bilingual.

The responsibilities of the Parent Education Coordinator will be to:

1. Visit the homes of junior-high-school pupils.
2. Assist with the immediate problems of families new to the Mobilization area.
3. Discuss home, school, and community problems with parents.
4. Refer parents to organizations and agencies for needed help.
5. Identify common needs of parents in order to establish informal discussion classes in homes, schools, and community agencies related to these needs.
6. Work to remove practical barriers to parent participation in discussion classes by helping to arrange for baby sitters and police protection.
7. Arrange for appropriate resource people from the schools and community to participate in these discussions as required.
8. In individual conferences with parents and in the discussion groups, make practical suggestions for improving home conditions which might affect the children's school progress.
9. Encourage parents to continue their own education by enrolling in formal adult-education classes.

Pre-service and in-service training programs should be established for the Parent Education Coordinators under the direction of the District Community Coordinator and selected resource persons from the Mobilization area. The pre-service program should consist of a workshop-type experience which provides training in the techniques of working with working-class and immigrant parents. The purposes of the program will be thoroughly explored and techniques for achieving the ends discussed. The in-service training program will involve regular weekly meetings during the first year of service and monthly meetings thereafter. The program will focus on the experiences and problems encountered by the Parent Education Coordinators and on sharing of successful techniques and resources.

The content of the adult-education discussion class should emerge from the group. The discussions might deal with such topics as orientation to living in New York, home and family management, rights and responsibilities of community living, neighborhood problems, improving family relationships. The groups will continue to meet as long as there are parents interested in participating. Because of the variety of topics which might be discussed, the groups will vary considerably in frequency and duration of meetings. Movement from one subject area to another should be encouraged when the PEC and the group deem it desirable.

Whenever possible, both in the home visits and in the discussion classes, the native tongue of the participants should be used, with the PEC serving as interpreter where necessary.

Basic assumption and purposes: The major assumption underlying this proposal is that the parents of junior-high-school youth can be reached through an informal, fluid educational program. Such parents probably would react positively to informally structured discussion groups planned with them rather than for them. The program will aim at providing parents with direct, practical help with their day-to-day problems. It would avoid the general, less meaningful discussions which sometimes drive parents away from the formal classes. The problems of early teen-agers, of home discipline and opportunities for junior-high-school youth, of the place and long-range promise of education in the American scene could be aired and parents assisted in handling and understanding their roles.

Other Elementary School Programs

Despite normal intelligence, many culturally starved youngsters stumble in attempting the tasks of the primary school. Their difficulty becomes retardation in the basic subjects of the elementary school -- reading and arithmetic -- and in general intellectual, social, and emotional development as well. The Institute for Developmental Studies has described the plight of culturally deprived youngsters as follows:

> Not only do they fall behind in the basic scholastic skills, such as reading and arithmetic, but they also respond minimally to the broader aspect of the function of the school: the instilling of a respect for knowledge, the fostering of the development of the cognitive skills necessary for acquiring knowledge, and that general function of equipping a child to live in his own society as a responsible citizen.[14]

Assuming that these children during the years from two to five are not exposed at home to the stimuli which develop their readiness for formal school learnings, it would be desirable to set up kindergarten classes for four-year-olds which stress verbal-enrichment programs.

The preliminary findings of the Mental Retardation Project of Teachers College are encouraging as a model for relating enriched prior learnings to subsequent school achievement. The Mental Retardation Project was designed to study the effects of nursery-kindergarten experiences on the immediate and subsequent behavior and adjustment of four- to six-year-old children diagnosed by clinicians as the "educable mentally retarded."

Although most culturally deprived children are, of course, not mentally retarded, they are often academically retarded. The data suggest that deprived youngsters who have enriched group-learning experiences learn more and faster than their peers in classes for mentally retarded children.

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[14] The Institute for Developmental Studies, _op. cit._, p. 1.

Early Childhood Enrichment Program

It is proposed that four kindergarten classes be organized for four-year-olds to stimulate the children's readiness for school tasks through enriched intellectual and social experiences. These classes will enroll a maximum of 15 children each. It is further suggested that the experiment include 20 kindergartens for five-year-olds and 20 first-grade-classes.

The curriculum will not only contribute to the development of the cognitive and sensory motor skills necessary for successful participation in subsequent school programs but will also provide the foundation for language communication and general verbal skills. In addition to the usual early childhood activities, designed to nurture the child's physical, social, emotional, and mental development, provisions will be made for such experiences as trips, block building, easel and finger painting, music and rhythmic activities, cooking, dramatic play, water play, outdoor play activities, working with clay, trying out and exploring other materials, bringing interesting things to school, collecting things, and receiving guests. Activities which will increase auditory and visual perception and discrimination, motor coordination, concept development, and meaningful use of language will be emphasized. Through these activities the additional skills of observation, following directions, judgment, problem solving, and critical thinking will be developed in functional and natural ways. With opportunities to manipulate and experiment with many media and to live in a learning environment not usually available to the child in a low socio-economic area, the chances of growth are multiplied. Working in a school group under the guidance of a perceptive teacher, the child grows not only socially but in all areas of learning.

Teachers trained in early childhood education should be assigned to the classes after appropriate in-service training to provide the techniques and procedures for working with children from a low socioeconomic background. The in-service program will emphasize the objectives of developing the child's readiness for school and increasing the likelihood of initial success. The classes themselves will serve as laboratories for teacher-training programs, offering student-teaching experiences for colleges in the area. Such a training program could cultivate teacher competencies in a unique kind of pre-school education. It probably will attract and recruit teachers for expanding the program.

A Coordinator of Early Childhood Education should be appointed to coordinate all aspects of the program.

Workshops should be organized to familiarize the parents of the preschoolers with the program's goals and suggest ways of supplementing the class experiences. Parents might be reached through a program giving special attention to medical care, nutrition, social needs, and perhaps even club-type activities such as sewing or child care. Materials in the mother tongue should be distributed to non-English-speaking parents.

Basic Assumptions: The major assumptions being tested by this plan are as follows:

1. Impoverishment in early verbal experiences, which impedes the learning of basic skills in school and results in deterioration of self-image, can be overcome through early and pre-school curriculum enrichment. Research on the early intellectual development of children suggests that

young children can profit from intellectual experiences which extend verbal skills and so eventually improve reading ability and other linguistic skills during the later school years. Such a program would not advance the reading achievement for six-year-olds by two or three years; rather, it would provide enriched experiences usually lacking in these children's environment.

2. The essential cognitive skills can be developed through early and pre-school experience. More specifically, the learning-how-to-learn skills can be taught at the pre-school level. This proposal would test the possibilities of developing through the direct instruction of these young children the skills needed for basic school functioning.

3. Motivation for school achievement can be enhanced through early school successes. A major factor here is the degree of independence training. Research indicates a relationship between the early independence training of children and their drives for achievement when they enter school. There are some findings that working-class parents delay independence training. Thus, the pre-school curriculum may bolster the motivation for school achievement.

Ungraded Primary Unit

Traditional promotion practices create a high rate of non-promotion. The non-promotion rate across the country, according to one survey, is somewhere between 14 and 20 percent. The highest concentration of retardation is in the early grades. If reading achievement were stringently applied as the chief criterion for promotion, the non-promotion rate would be exceptionally high in the Mobilization area. Early failure often develops habits, concepts, and self-attitudes deterrent to later school achievement. Research has demonstrated that non-promotion does not result in better work, nor does it reduce the wide range of ability represented in a classroom. In sum, no consistent relationship has been found between ability, achievement, and non-promotion.

From a study of promotion and non-promotion in the elementary school, Goodlad concluded that "undesirable growth characteristics and unsatisfactory school progress have been more closely associated with non-promoted children than with slow-learning children."[15] Chronological promotion may spare the child the humiliation of failure and the concomitant sense of inferiority, but it does not diminish his learning problem. The ungraded primary unit is an attempt to come to grips with learning problems rather than pass them along to the next grade.

The ungraded primary school treats the first three or four grades (kindergarten or first through third) as a unit, with grade lines blurred or eliminated. "Promotion" into the fourth grade is based on achievement and personal development -- emotional, social, and physical -- rather than on time spent or on chronological age. The child may spend as few as two and as many as four years in the primary unit of grades one to three -- progressing at his own rate wothout promotion or retardation in the unit. The teacher may or may not stay with the group of children for the entire period.

It is proposed that two elementary schools experiment with the effects of ungraded primary school on culturally deprived youngsters. This administrative organization would provide:

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[15] John I. Goodlad, "Research and Theory Regarding Promotion and -- Non-Promotion," Elementary School Journal, Vol. 53, (Nov. 1952), pp. 150-53.

1. A flexible grouping plan based on the individual maturation and achievement patterns of the child.
2. A place for each child at his own level of attainment and advancement to the next level as he masters his tasks.
3. Reduction of "failures" and the frustrations resulting from failure -- real or perceived.

Basic assumption: The underlying assumption is that the ungraded primary unit will eliminate non-promotion and failure in the early grades, help to ensure continuous progress for the child, and substantially reduce the threat of failure for the youngster who gets off to a slow start in school. For three years, more or less, he will work in a unit in which the teacher tries to set a pace commensurate with his individual capabilities and attainment.

For the culturally deprived youngster, who may encounter problems getting under way in the first grades, the ungraded primary unit makes it possible to achieve regular progress without the sense of frustration and failure that often result from automatic (social or chronological) promotion.

Homework Helpers Project

High-school students from low-income families need encouragement to continue in full-time schooling. One of the causes of high-school dropout is lack of sufficient family income. A program which alleviates the financial problem of low-income high-school students should encourage their remaining in school, provided that other factors are also favorable.

It is proposed, therefore, that high-school sophomores and juniors from low-income families residing in the Mobilization area be hired for after-school employment as tutors of elementary-school students. Tenth- and eleventh-year students from Seward Park and Metropolitan Vocational High Schools whose families earn less than $5200 annually[16] and who are in the upper 25 percent of their academic classes will be given the opportunity to participate. Students who are selected will attend an eight-session training program prior to meeting with the pupils whom they are to tutor. Bi-weekly sessions for the first semester and monthly sessions for the second semester will be arranged. Each tutor will be assigned to a specialist teacher for individual consultation as required. In addition, specialists will be hired to train high-school students not yet ready to assume tutorial functions. The training will be conducted by reading, arithmetic, and language-arts specialists, with the assistance of guidance personnel.

The purpose of the tutoring is to help and encourage elementary-school pupils in after-school centers, not to provide remedial or technical aid. It is not assumed that the high-school students either have or can acquire the necessary skills or insights required for remedial tutoring. This program is aimed at providing the extra reassurance which will help elementary pupils with their basic school work.

Three hundred high-school students will participate in the program. Each tutor will be responsible for three or four elementary-school pupils, meeting twice a week for individual 60-minute sessions. The tutors will be paid at the minimum New York State wage of $1.25 per hour.

Basic objectives: Participation in the tutoring program will represent recognition and concrete reward for students who do well in high school.

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[16] The Community Council of Greater New York designates as "low income" a family of four with a yearly income of $5200. Community Council of Greater New York, Annual Price Survey and Family Budget Cost, New York, Oct. 1960. p. 1.

The tutoring experience might therefore motivate some ninth- and tenth-graders toward improved academic achievement.

High-school students will be exposed to a teaching experience at an age still young enough for them to choose teaching as a career. Participation in the plan could result in a closer relationship between the student and school so that there would be opportunities within the program to build on and deepen the school's career guidance function.

Through the tutoring services provided for culturally deprived elementary-school pupils, their basic skills in reading, writing, arithmetic, and the language arts should be improved. Thus, the tutoring program should help to reduce the inability of the elementary pupils to maintain the basic skills at the expected grade level by giving them individualized assistance.

The younger pupils should benefit from interaction with older boys and girls who, like themselves, are from low-income families and from the same ethnic and racial grouping but who have done well in school and for whom the school is a valuable institution. The high-school student will thus serve as a model for the elementary pupils, possibly increasing their aspirations for school success.

Other Guidance and Personnel Services

Guidance in the elementary school has been concerned with the personal and social development of children, chiefly as it affects their learning problems. The classroom teacher is generally responsible for day-by-day guidance as well as instruction, under the general supervision of guidance specialists. Within the Mobilization area, only a few of the elementary schools have full-time counselors or part-time guidance teachers immediately available; the rest request services through the office of the District Guidance Coordinator. Part-time guidance teachers are regular classroom instructors who have completed a 10-hour workshop with the District Guidance Coordinator and have been released from some responsibilities to coordinate guidance in their own schools. They work primarily with other classroom teachers to help promote a "guidance point of view" and to recommend individual solutions within the limited time at their disposal.

Elementary Guidance Counselor Coordinator

It is proposed that the elementary-school guidance and pupil-personnel services be extended to approximate the intensive counseling required at this level.

A full-time Guidance-Counselor Coordinator should be appointed for each elementary school in the Mobilization area which does not presently have this position. The coordinator's prime function will be counseling; punitive functions should be assigned to an assistant principal or a behavior counselor. The guidance coordinator will be relieved of all routine administrative, non-counseling functions.

The guidance counselors will be responsible for coordinating the guidance activities of classroom teachers, for in-service training and orientation of teachers, and for helping to orient reading specialists. The guidance counselor will knit together guidance and remedial reading, for example, as well as referrals from teachers for other agencies and services. He will be responsible for synthesizing the efforts of other personnel services -- e.g., the small-group program (see below), health guidance services, reading clinic, psychometric services. He will help the school to make the most effective use of Mobilization programs.

Additional Bureau of Child Guidance staff should be added to the Mobilization area to supplement the present limited clinical service.

Basic assumption and objectives: At the secondary-school level, the importance of counseling services has been demonstrated beyond dispute. The importance of full-time elementary guidance specialists is not so well documented, since they are relatively new forces. It is clear, however, that guidance in the elementary school should set a precedent for later attempts to help individual pupils. By identifying youngsters who need special assistance and directing them into remedial and enrichment programs, elementary guidance can profoundly affect their educational, vocational, and social-emotional adjustment. The potential value of an elementary-school guidance program -- if only as a lightning rod for maladjustment -- cannot be overestimated.

The major objective of this proposal is to increase the guidance services and evolve a supportive instructional-guidance relationship. Youngsters with problems, as well as those with special talents, must be identified as early as possible so that necessary services can be provided. There are severe limitations on the guidance possible within the classroom. Specialist services are required for more effective results.

Junior High-School Guidance Counselor:

Guidance counseling at the junior-high-school level for youngsters in a culturally deprived area should be remedial and therapeutic as well as informational. Children at this level need pre-vocational guidance to build attitudes of responsibility, to clarify the necessary preparation and range of opportunities, to explore skills. The end result should be vocational maturity, an understanding of how one locates and keeps a job of one's choice. Also needed is counseling in connection with educational and vocational planning, involving not only the selection of courses but the recognition of problems.

It is proposed, therefore, that the number of counselors and the quality of counseling services at the junior high school be expanded. An additional full-time guidance counselor should be supplied at each of the junior high schools. These counselors should be assigned only duties related to individual or group counseling and freed from other tasks.

Developmental group-guidance units should be prepared and used in the seventh, eighth, and ninth grades by the trained counselors. These units should focus on helping the student to mature in his vocational and educational choices, to heighten his concern for making the right choice, and to increase his understanding of the various forces involved in making choices. Working closely with teachers of the Exploratory Work Courses (see Appendix A-1), the counselors should draw on the services of job-finding agencies, such as the Youth Jobs Center and those responsible for the enforcement of fair-employment practices.

Group-guidance activities should give special attention to the skills of learning how to study, organize, outline, take an examination, and understand the assignments and demands of the teacher. Teacher-writers should develop workbooks or programmed instructional materials aimed at providing youngsters with the skills to attack school tasks with some measure of competence and confidence. Materials for group guidance should be developed within a framework of the life-style and conditions of culturally deprived youngsters.

Individual parent-pupil-counselor conferences should be held at least once a year. These conferences should consider counseling needs and the steps that will lead to better school adjustment for the pupil. Details of the conferences should be shared with appropriate teachers.

Basic assumptions. The paucity of available non-instructional services, particularly guidance and personnel services, overtaxes the classroom teacher. An intensified program of individual and group guidance can facilitate the classroom teacher's task with youngsters from culturally deprived areas and should increase their school success.

Class instruction will profit to the extent that adequate counseling and referral services are available and staff members are helped to apply these personnel services. Much of the teacher's effort is devoted to the bogey of maintaining classroom discipline. Help for the teacher, as well as for the child, lies in the authorization of full-fledged, encompassing counseling services.

Attendance Teachers

The role of the Attendance Teacher encompasses far more than checking attendance and following-up truants. He can be an important member of the school guidance team, providing fresh information and services in addition to restoring truants to the school. Since a truant child is likely to be delinquent or delinquency-prone, this function is especially important. It is proposed, therefore, to increase, on a pilot-project basis, the number of Attendance Teachers to a ratio of one to each of the junior high schools in the area.

Attendance Teachers should be assigned to specific schools in order to establish a closer working relationship with the staff and to become better acquainted with the pupils and the neighborhood. Close liaison should be maintained between the Attendance Teacher and the Guidance Counselor to increase the possibilities of improving school services. It is not sufficient simply to return a child to the classroom; if he is not to turn truant again in short order, the returned child must be supported by personnel and instructional services.

Attendance Teachers in the junior high schools will deal specifically with children from multiple-problem families. These teachers should have case loads small enough to permit intensive efforts with the hard-core families. They should sit in on case conferences to discuss the home situation and in some cases accompany the teacher or guidance counselor on home visits.

Small Groups Program

Small groups, each containing six or seven emotionally-disturbed children, have been set up for experimental purposes elsewhere. The groups are modifications of the group-psychotherapy programs conducted under clinical auspices. At present, a specially trained consultant supervises the intake studies, group practices, and individual assessments which are required for operation of the program. Selected workers are trained for the group procedures through in-service programs involving seminar instruction and supervised practice.

It is proposed that several such groups be established at two elementary and two junior high schools in the Mobilization area. A designated room would be furnished with necessary materials, recreational equipment, and furniture for small groups of youngsters to participate in play-group activities for one hour per day under trained supervision. This room might also be made available for emotionally disturbed youngsters to "let off steam" when needed. Group workers with clinical experience should be selected to work with the emotionally disturbed youngsters.

Basic assumptions: The hypotheses to be tested by this plan are the following:

1. The therapy of a small group can bring about improved classroom behavior in emotionally disturbed children. The provision of a mediating person who knows the child well and can interpret his behavior to the teacher or parent will help in this regard.

2. The establishment of small groups in which emotionally disturbed children can work out some of their problems will relieve pressures on classroom teachers and other pupils.

3. Children who are helped with their personal problems will achieve at a higher level in school.

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Appendix A - 3

THE COMMUNITY

Mobilization for Youth

What we have said thus far suggests that we must increase the willingness and ability of local residents to participate in the social and political life of their community. Participation by adults in decision-making about matters that affect their interests increases their sense of identification with the community and the larger social order. People who identify with their neighborhood and share common values are more likely to try to control juvenile misbehavior. A well-integrated community can provide learning experiences for adults which enable them to serve as more adequate models and interpreters of community life for the young. In short, there is an inverse correlation between community integration and a low rate of juvenile delinquency.[1]

It appears, then, that participation in community-oriented organizations is highly desirable. However, it is not very common among the lower class. A considerable number of studies indicate that formal-group membership is closely related to income, status, and education; the lower one's income, status, and educational level, the less likely one is to participate in formal community groups.[2] It has been estimated, in fact, that 60 to 80 percent of the lower class does not belong to any formal organization. A study of "Income and Social Participation" found, "In every type of group without exception -- church, fraternal service, recreational, patriotic, political, cultural -- membership on the part of lower-income classes was markedly lower."[3]

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[1] A study of two lower-class neighborhoods of similar socioeconomic levels found that in the more integrated neighborhood (in which persons knew their neighbors, perceived common interests, shared common viewpoints and felt a part of the community), delinquency rates were markedly lower. Eleanor Maccoby et al., "Community Integration and the Social Control of Delinquency," Journal of Social Issues, Vol. 14, No. 3 (1958), pp. 38-51.

[2] Morris Axelrod, "Urban Structure and Social Participation," American Sociological Review, Vol. 21, No. 1 (Feb. 1956), pp. 13-18.

Why are lower-class adults less likely to become closely involved in community affairs? There are, we think, four major reasons, or barriers to their participation.

The first barrier is residential mobility. Local communities, such as the Lower East Side, have been inundated by new migrants, some of them unfamiliar with the demands of urban life and consequently unable to provide their children with realistic expectations or adequate learning opportunities. Although public housing mitigates some of the problematic aspects of slum life, it is of necessity responsible for much residential mobility. The recruitment of single family units from widely dispersed parts of the metropolitan area collects in one place thousands of deprived families, strangers to one another and to local community resources. Physical redevelopment programs and the consequent exodus of old residents have in many instances shattered existing institutions, so that they are unable to help in the assimilation of the newcomers into the urban system. For example, the diminishing vitality of some local political machines, with their attentive political leaders, eliminates an important interpretive link to the new world.

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[3] William G. Mather, "Income and Social Participation," American Sociological Review, Vol. 6, No. 3 (June 1941), pp. 380 - 381.

A recent empirical study of population mobility shows that organizations which are locally oriented — i.e., neighborhood-based, serving a geographic subportion of the census tract — are the hardest hit by residential instability. Member-oriented organizations, in which the members have particular social relationships with one another, also have much difficulty. (The YMCA is an example of both types.) "A typical successful adjustment to the impact of mobility is to shift from a local to a metropolitan orientation."[4] Reaching out to a metropolitan clientele enables the organization to survive, but it then becomes less accessible for use by the incoming migrant.

Movement into the community is not the only kind of residential mobility; there is also outward movement, which, in the case of the slum community, stems partly from a rise in socioeconomic status. The correlation between the two kinds of movement is often unnecessarily increased by housing regulations that deny continued occupancy to families whose income exceeds certain low levels. This forces people out and also deprives the housing community of its more able, achieving members.

Another barrier to the participation of lower-class adults in community affairs is the fact that most community activities are staffed by middle-class personnel. To the extent that lower-class persons feel that they are being dominated, they are likely to withdraw from collective activities. The predominance of the middle class in community organizations has a number of sources. When community problems become so severe that people are motivated to act, it is generally the middle-class element

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[4] Peter Rossi, Why Families Move, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1955, p. 58.

(or, at least, those who are oriented toward the middle class) that reacts first. Although lower-class persons may affiliate with the organization, its predominantly middle-class style soon becomes a subtle source of intimidation. Its leaders are likely to be businessmen, professionals, social welfare personnel, ministers, and other members of the middle class. The formality of the organization-meetings with predetermined agenda, concern with rules of procedure, and the like — tends to make the lower-class participant, unfamiliar with these matters, feel insecure and inferior.

When middle-class organizations deliberately seek to attract lower-class members, obstacles to autonomy may nevertheless arise. For example, the organizers may insist on maintaining control of the activities and policies of the organization. This may have the consequence of encouraging the participation of lower-class persons whose values and skills are congenial with those of the middle-class organizer. Those whose values and skills differ, however, will gradually sense that such differences matter and that the organization exists to serve middle-class ends. They may therefore disassociate themselves.

It is also true that entrenched organizations are not eager to promote collective activities among groups not similarly entrenched. New groups in a community — especially new minority groups — are often confronted with hostility from established groups whose positions of power are threatened by the possibility of forceful action by the newcomers.

The problem of autonomy is exacerbated by the fact that lower-class people are constantly exposed to the bewildering operations of massive bureaucratic systems. An example is the system of formal controls characteristic of public housing. The managerial group wields great power, even in the most intimate spheres of the daily life of tenants. A sociologist writing of a Lower East Side project observed, "To the tenants, management was distant; it represented powerful disciplinary authority involving rules, constant checks on violations, and all the other formalities of the bureaucratic world."[5] The inherent impersonality of "Bigness," the potentiality of attack from anti-housing groups and the press, and the American ethos, which questions the dignity of accepting public aid, together result in the imposition of regulations far more stringent than the demands made upon tenants in private housing.

> The tenant may not paint his apartment; he may not have guests stay longer than three months; he may not walk on the project grass or ride bicycles on the project walks. He may not have pets, install air conditioners, or shake a mop out the window.... While some of these rules are written in the "Tenants Handbook," others are the property, as it were, of the landlord, unavailable in printed form to the tenant. These public and private rules contain a final insult: the manager and his personnel may enter apartments at will....
>
> The important thing about the regulations is that they make explicit what is ordinarily implicit in routine middle-class life..., middle-class behavior is not something you can teach a Puerto Rican by imposing fines; fear of eviction does not take the place of socialization. Moreover, many of the American Negroes, ambitious and sensitive, deeply resent being dealt with as lower-class stereotypes. And those tenants who do not notice the middle-class assumptions of the rules also do not understand them.[6]

Self-defeating attitudes also interfere with community integration. Lower-income groups tend to view life more pessimistically, with less hope of deliverance, and, as a consequence, they tend to retreat from struggle. A Gallup poll conducted in 1959 indicates that a higher percentage of respondents in the under-$3,000 income group expect World War III and a new depression than any other grouping. As one observer notes, "Seeing his chances for improvement as slim produces in the slum-dweller a psychology of listlessness, of passivity, and acceptance, which .... reduces his chances still further."[7] Such defeatism, resulting in lack of participation, produces a loss of interest in changing their conditions.

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[5] Michael Miller in Michael Harrington, "Slums, Old and New," Commentary, Vol. 30, No. 2 (August, 1960), p. 122.

[6] Michael Miller and Carl Wertham, "Public Housing: Tenants and Troubles," Dissent, Vol 8, No. 3 (Summer 1961), p. 285.

Intergroup tensions are also a barrier to community integration. The vast mixture of peoples in the inner-city area (Negro, Puerto Rican, Jew, Chinese, Italian, among others, in the Lower East Side) is potentially a source of cultural riches and community strength. Racial and ethnic discrimination, however, reduces it to a source of community tension, which is aggravated by other differences — i.e., the new _vs._ the old resident, the low- _vs._ the middle-income neighbor. When there is congruence in the difference — as, for example, when the Negro is both new to the area and lower class — tension is increased. Mutual community interests, the common problems of lower-class people, and the common concern for a better life for their children give way to suspicion, isolation, and ultimately teen-age violence.

Breaking down the barriers to community integration is conceived to be a central requirement of the Mobilization program: increasing the motivation and the ability of local residents to participate in the social and political life of their community is a major objective. The development of indigenous social organizations is emphasized in this proposal as a way of achieving this goal. Opportunity must be made available to increase the participants' knowledge of what the community (and city) offers and what it needs, as well as of effective action techniques. The dominance of middle-class styles (e.g., the formal nature of the usual community efforts) must be avoided and greater attention given to issues of interest to the lower class; a predominance of lower-class members must be ensured, and leaders actually representative of lower-income groups and influential in affecting their value systems must be identified and recruited. The sponsorship of the organizations must be carefully developed so as to guarantee maximum autonomy. In short, innovation and experimentation are sorely needed.

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[7] Harrington, _op. cit._, p. 121.

Organizing the Unaffiliated

Lower East Side residents who now participate in unaffiliated voluntary associations, such as storefront churches and home-town clubs, will be encouraged to plan collaborative programs of a cultural, social, and social-action nature. This attempt to broaden the scope and participation of existing groups has the following objectives:

1. To increase the ability of local residents to participate in and influence the social and political life of their community. This will have the further objective of providing an example for adolescents of a means of handling alienation constructively.
2. To identify, document, and dramatize community needs.
3. To widen channels of communication between lower-class persons

and institutional personnel or decision-makers, and thereby to increase both the institutions' responsiveness to lower-class needs and the residents' knowledge and use of community resources.

4. To increase community integration and the effectiveness of social controls.

5. To improve the competence of local leaders to deal with grievances and to defend their constituents' rights and privileges.

The development of indigenous community organizations sufficiently effective to accomplish these goals will require extensive effort. We propose a Starter Program for the recruitment of influential local lower-class persons to act as organizers. The resulting group or groups will be sponsored initially by Mobilization for Youth. Ultimately, we hope that these community organizations will become more autonomous.

The Starter Program

The Starter Program is designed to accomplish the following goals:

1. To initiate contact and communication between local residents of influence and Mobilization staff members.

2. To increase local leaders' knowledge of and interest in community affairs without diminishing their in-group influence.

3. To stimulate leaders' motivation to take action on social issues.

4. To develop leaders' skills in social action.

5. To recruit paid, part-time community organizers.

6. To increase professional knowledge of lower-class styles and the potentiality of community action.

Although lower-class persons participate in formal group life less than do members of the middle class, urban slums do not lack indigenous social organizations. In fact, there is evidence of a proliferation of voluntary associations in depressed working-class neighborhoods. For example, in Manhattanville, a community of 100,000 persons inhabiting 60 city blocks, there are an estimated 400 informal groups, most of which have minimal attachments to the institutional life of the community.[8] Similarly, through the Mobilization-conducted Voluntary Associations Survey, 200 small groups have thus far been identified in the Mobilization area, each with at least a name and a designated, regular meeting place.[9]

These small associations may constitute a source of membership for new community organizations, as well as a potential source of paid community organizers. (We assume that it is more feasible to engage persons already involved in some form of group life than to reach persons who are isolated or attached only to highly amorphous collectivities.)

Leaders of these lower-class groups have been identified through the Survey of Voluntary Associations. In some instances, the leader formally designated by the group is clearly a highly influential member -- for example, the minister of a storefront church. Often, however, the formal leader is not in fact the most significant decision-maker. Since the survey inquired about the persons to whom the group turned for advice in particular matters (personal, business, etc.), it provided some indication of non-formally designated leadership as well. These leaders, formal and non-formal, will be asked to participate in 10 to 15 meetings to discuss community problems. Where the actual leadership of a group is in doubt, more than one member will be invited to attend.[10]

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[8] Hurley Doddy, Informal Groups and the Community, New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1952.

[9] Excluded from this definition of voluntary associations are amorphous, unattached groups, such as street-corner groups.

Varying strategies to induce attendance will be developed. For example, a contribution might be offered to groups for their cooperation. Discussions will be led by Mobilization personnel who are sympathetic toward local life style.

Groups consisting of 10 to 15 leaders will be formed on the basis of data elicited from the Voluntary Associations Survey. How they are grouped will undoubtedly influence the outcome of the program. Although there are no absolute criteria, a number of indicators are suggested by the survey. For example, leaders of storefront churches which enjoin members from smoking, dancing, drinking, and the like may be loathe to come together with leaders of social clubs whose activities they consider frivolous. The leader of an organization comprising only one ethnic group might, of course, participate in a mixed group of leaders. However, if such a leader has also expressed strong antipathy to newcomers to the neighborhood, no attempt will be made to place him in a unit in which Puerto Rican storefront ministers predominate. Leaders who have few or no outside contacts and whose groups have had limited collaborative experience will not generally be placed in units comprised for the most part of leaders with a wide range of contacts and much collaborative experience (e.g. heads of tenants' organizations). A careful mixture of "naive" and "sophisticated" leaders might be sought - not so many "sophisticates" that the "naives" are made to feel ignorant, but enough so that when ideas about the community and its power structure are introduced, some members will be knowledgeable. Such factors as the leaders' education, membership in other organizations, ethnic background, and religion will also be taken into account.[11]

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[10] Studies indicate that leadership shifts among members of a group depending upon specific activities or areas of interest. Thus one person may have most influence on the baseball field while another more clearly affects decisions relating to group organization. Since the groups in our program for the most part have not demonstrated active community concern, we assume that there are no highly influential members with this interest. We assume, further, that there are "generalist" leaders -- those to whom members look for direction in a wide variety of matters.

The content of meetings will be based on the specific findings of the Voluntary Associations Survey concerning social problems (racial tensions, delinquency, bad housing), the community power structure, and community facilities or resources. Analysis of the Survey data will also offer clues to the informational gaps of particular groups. For example, preliminary examination of the data suggests that Puerto Rican storefront ministers are far less knowledgeable than presidents of block associations about the location of power in specific community areas.

The agenda of meetings will require leaders to consult with their constituents in advance of the meetings. For example, they will be asked to report their groups' opinions on various issues. It is hoped that this technique will minimize the leaders' isolation from their groups as a result of participation in the program and, in addition, stimulate the groups' interest in the content of sessions.

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[11] The organization survey indicates a low level of community integration. The small amount of interorganizational collaboration which does take place mainly involves organizations of similar type (e.g., storefront church with storefront church). It would therefore probably be a mistake to attempt a widely heterogenous grouping of leaders in the Starter Program. On the other hand, homogeneous groups (i.e., a unit comprised entirely of Puerto Rican storefront ministers) should also be avoided, since the Starter Program can make a start toward the integration of groups (and leaders) which now work separately but which have common concerns and share a desire to do something about the Lower East Side.

In the final meetings, groups whose leaders have participated will be asked to join the program. Promising group leaders will be selected and given in-service training as community organizers. Persons who represent -- and can also influence -- the norms of their group will be sought; the ability to handle forms and to comply with middle-class modes of behavior will be considered secondary.

Personnel

The staff of the project will consist of an Assistant Chief for Community Organization who is a professionally trained community organizer, experienced in working with lower-income groups. Responsible for the ideological and professional direction of the project, he will be assisted by a Project Supervisor. They will maintain close working relationships with the staff of LENA and other community groups. Four professional Community Organizers will supervise the semi-professional indigenous workers. They will be assigned on both a geographic and a functional basis -- for example, one organizer might be responsible for working with a particular subsection of the area and with tenants' councils. As much as possible, of course, overlapping jurisdictions will be avoided. Indigenous Organizers will be assigned particular areas, the number depending upon the concentration of lower-income groups in each area. Thus one section of the community might have four such organizers while another has two. In all, the project will employ four full-time and 16 part-time indigenous organizer .

Independent Community Organizations

Professional and indigenous organizers will have the following goals:

1. To encourage greater interaction and cooperation among small groups.
2. To develop more ambitious and creative social and cultural programs.
3. To document specific grievances or abuses.
4. To stimulate social action on dramatic, readily soluble issues.
5. To increase the use of social resources by individual members.
6. To form new small groups.

The nature of the structures through which the unaffiliated programs will operate will depend upon the wishes of the groups that choose to participate. Because of the wide diversity of voluntary associations and their current isolation from one another, we anticipate a somewhat diffuse, unorthodox structure. Some groups may wish to be part of a League of Storefront Churches, a Council of Puerto Rican Social Clubs, an Association of Tenant Councils, or an area-wide council. Some may not be prepared to join officially with others but will maintain their ties to the programs through the community organizer and will participate on an *ad hoc* basis. It is also anticipated that some of the groups may ultimately wish to affiliate with LENA or its Neighborhood Councils.

Just as there will be a variety of structures or groupings, so will there be a wide range of readiness for programs. Some groups may want to be involved only in social or cultural programs. Other groups may wish to be involved only in such undertakings as a large dance or a campaign against slum landlords. Still others may be eager for social action on a number of issues and will concentrate on instrumental activities exclusively.

Preliminary analysis of the Voluntary Associations Survey gives us reason to believe that many of the lower-class groups are capable of more than their current social action and interaction. We have classified them according to their orientation along a continuum ranging from expressive to instrumental. That is, at one end are groups interested mainly in consummatory or inherently gratifying alternatives, such as socializing, cultist religious worship, and athletics. At the other extreme are those whose programs may entail a number of irksome tasks, such as recruiting membership, preparing reports, planning strategy. Examples of the more expressive groups are clubs, fraternal associations, and storefront churches. Instrumental associations are unions, PTA's, tenant associations. The expressive groups tend to have a present-time orientation, while the instrumental groups engage in efforts which make sense only if they are the means to a distant goal.[12] However, even quite expressive groups indicate more concern about community problems and willingness to join with other groups in attempts to rectify them than their current program and isolation would suggest. In effect, the community organizer will be trying to help leaders act upon expressed concern and readiness to alleviate community problems.

Social-action issues will, of course, be determined by the participants. It may be necessary for the community organizer to see that concrete social abuses about which groups have expressed concern are documented in order to mobilize additional community interest in them. The Program Development Unit of LENA, (see below), which will make studies of community need, may aid

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12. Parsons has emphasized that even the most instrumental groups have expressive functions, and vice versa. For example, the administrative functions of the cultist leader and the social nature of the Chamber of Commerce dinners are self-evident. Talcott Parsons, The Social System, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1951, Chap. IV.

this effort. The organizer may also enlist other aid to determine, for example, the number of building violations in tenements owned by landlord X; the extent to which people along Avenue D feel that officials "pick on" Puerto Ricans and Negroes; or whether post-office truckers do in fact neglect to make the afternoon mail pickups along Madison Street.

Preliminary data from the Survey of Voluntary Associations indicate that there are four problem areas perceived as critical by residents: the behavior of youth, housing needs, better governmental services, and discrimination. Although there is also an indication of high action potential in the first three areas, the data do not at this point indicate that many groups are willing to become involved in anti-discriminatory programs.

It is hoped that the use of indigenous organizers will encourage lower-class residents to identify with the project and to perceive that the program represents their interests. In addition, it will avoid the problems in communication that sometimes arise between people of different social strata. Leaders of lower-class groups will doubtless be more successful in engaging the interest and interpreting the aspirations of other residents. We recognize, however, that the employment of these leaders may undermine their influence among group members. Since leadership adheres, in any group, to those with the power to withhold or provide items of value, the influence of indigenous organizers will be buttressed by the services provided by Organizing the Unaffiliated. To the extent possible, however, indigenous leaders will be prevented from molding themselves in the professional image.

Because of the structural and programmatic diversities, organizers will have a variety of tasks. Principally, they will act as a group's channel of communication with the organized community and with other small groups. If groups are informed about community developments and about the activities of others, they become a part of the community even if they remain unaffiliated. Organizers will be expected to help individuals to exploit the social resources provided by other Mobilization programs, especially the Neighborhood Service Centers (see Appendix A-4), and by the settlements, churches, and other institutions.

Community organizers have often relied solely on what may be called altruism. They have offered the individual participant and the group the psychic satisfaction of contributing to communal betterment. While middle-class persons readily link social action with personal and social gain, most lower-class people have difficulty relating seemingly remote goals to their bread-and-butter problems. Organizing the Unaffiliated will recognize the immediate self-interest of the depressed population and will offer members such individual benefits as free legal advice, job referrals, homemakers, and baby sitters. Organizers will also provide assistance in arranging social and cultural activities as well as action on social issues of meaning to the group. Although these immediate gratifications are legitimate in their own right, especially in dealing with deprived individuals, we view them, in addition, as an aid to organization.

A final task of the organizers will be to form new groups that can eventually be drawn into wider participation. They will attempt to involve more amorphous collectivities, such as "corner" groups, in programs of an _ad hoc_ nature. Organizers will also encourage the independence of the participating organizations. It is hoped that the groups will be stimulated to raise their own funds, so that Mobilization can divest itself of sponsorship responsibility as soon as possible.

Connections between the indigenous organizations and established community groups will be maintained. A Mobilization committee, including representatives of local institutions, will constitute a professional advisory group for the project. In addition, the staff of the Unaffiliated programs and of LENA will meet regularly to discuss community concerns.

Assumptions

A program which contributes to the prevention and control of juvenile delinquency must involve significant numbers of representative lower-class persons.[13] Such an organization ought to enable what has been called the "effective community" of working-class youth[14] -- that is, the individuals, families, and groups with whom these youth interact and identify -- to exert more positive influence on them. The learning which accrues from the collective process can result in better opportunities or more effective role models for potential delinquents only when large numbers of working-class adults are members of community organizations.

In every slum neighborhood there are adults who, in attitudes, strivings, verbal skills, and possession of know-how, are oriented toward the middle class. Although their youngsters are less likely to experience strains toward deviance, they are precisely the parents who tend to join formal community organizations and to have faith and competence in the collective solution of social problems. The lament of neighborhood persons that "someone should get to Mrs. Jones, whose boys are always getting into trouble," calls attention to the frequent failure to reach adults who are significant to delinquents. In most organizations, therefore, persons who are in a minority among slum dwellers (i.e., the upwardly mobile) unfortunately represent the majority of those working-class members who participate. Because lower-class persons tend to eschew formal organizations, organizers who set out to reach the effective community of the delinquent frequently settle for those slum dwellers who are easiest to enlist.

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[13] The word "representative" is used here in the sense of "typical of the class" rather than in the political sense of "functioning or acting in behalf of others." Elsewhere in the literature it has been restricted to the latter use. See Chauncey Alexander and Charles McCann, "Concept of Representativeness in Community Organization," Social Work, Vol. 1, No. 1 (Jan. 1956), pp. 48 - 52.

[14] Derek V. Roemer, "Focus in Programming for Delinquency Reduction," Mimeographed paper, 1961.

Although reports of failure only rarely find their way into the literature, the modesty of claims regarding the organization of the deprived population itself indicates a general lack of success. For example, in East Harlem in 1948 a five-block area was chosen for organization; five trained social workers were assigned to organize these blocks and a program of social action was embarked upon, devoted to housing, recreational, and social needs of the neighborhood. Unfortunately, the East Harlem Neighborhood Center for Block Organization was able to attract only a limited number of participants during a three-year period. Subsequent research indicated that those who did participate were upwardly aspiring. Further, they were isolated from the rest of the community and therefore non-representative.[15]

A notable success in the organization of members of disadvantaged city areas is the Chicago Area Project, which has focused on inducing residents to take up the cause of delinquency prevention. Although it is true that this project has demonstrated that local residents can assume responsibility for the development and operation of some programs geared to the needs of local youngsters, the extent and representativeness of that participation can be questioned. For example, one report indicates that the projects began by convening local civic leaders, an insurance broker, a tailor, the head of a trade union, ordinary workers, and a number of ministers. A 25-year assessment of the Area Project indicates that residents most active in the local institutions were "in terms of interest, motivation, and capacity, on their way up the social-class ladder."[16] Participation in the project thus became a means of realizing an existent aspiration for upward mobility.

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[15] Although the leaders whom Mobilization hopes to attract will not, of course, be isolates, the content of their aspirations will be interesting to observe. We hypothesize, for example, that the "self-appointed" working-class leadership of most community-organization efforts is oriented toward middle-class life, and that the selection of group-designated leaders, as planned by Organizing the Unaffiliated, will produce fewer persons with middle-class aspirations. This is a controversial hypothesis which it would be well to examine empirically.

According to the Voluntary Associations Survey, members of existing small associations, however, are lower-class in income, education, and values. Thus, in contrast to the activists who join the usual community organizations, they constitute, at least in part, the "effective community" of potential delinquents.

The orientation of most groups necessitates efforts which differ from traditional approaches to the problem. For example, lower-class leaders and groups initially lack the verbal skills and the familiarity with parliamentary procedure necessary for participation in traditional organizational forms and practices. They are accustomed to performing more spontaneously, within a small, highly personal group. Therefore, the organizational milieu must be informal and flexible, the structure unorthodox and undetermined.

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16. Soloman Kobrin, "The Chicago Area Project - A 25-Year Assessment," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 322 (Mar. 1959), p. 23

Just as we must offer a modus operandi akin to the group style of lower-class members, so we must initiate programs that are related to their present activities. Social, recreational, and cultural interests will therefore be encouraged and abetted by professional help and intergroup co-operation. As a result, it is hoped that members will move in the direction of wider integration and community concern. Another way in which we shall modify our efforts to suit lower-class orientations will be to employ indigenous leaders as organizers.

As important assumption of Organizing the Unaffiliated is that the successful involvement of lower-class persons requires that they be allowed greater freedom of action than is usually permitted low-income participants in community-wide activities. There is, of course, a contradiction inherent in the proposal to establish "independent" lower-class community organizations under Mobilization sponsorship. Mobilization is responsible to a wide variety of groups. Issues with which lower-class organizations deal may threaten some of these groups, which may exert pressure to control the fledgling. Unless they are formed spontaneously under the impetus of an inflamatory issue, lower-class groups cannot be organized without the financing and support of such established (i.e., middle-class) organizations as Mobilization. The fact that Mobilization constitutes a new structure partially mitigates the problem of control. So, too, does Mobilization's expressed intention to protect the organizations' independence. This is scant solution, however; it will be necessary for Mobilization to divest itself of responsibility for the program as soon as feasible. Encouraging the organizations to raise their own funds as soon as possible would be a step in that direction.

Regardless of the degree of its independence, there will be countervailing pressures upon this program, undoubtedly in relation to its success. Any group sufficiently strong to influence the social and political life of its community will eventually seek to preserve its own position, once it has affected the changes it sought. The victory of a "reform" group makes that group part of the "establishment." After its goals have been achieved, the group develops a vested interest in the preservation of its status and thus becomes the "rascals" whom new reformers hope to supplant.

In view of the monumental task of organizing effective lower-class action groups, however, it is comforting to contemplate this problem of success.

Operation Assimilation

Our implicit model of the adequate inner-city community has emphasized characteristics of a community of final residence—i.e., stable populations, institutions, and cultural norms. However, such a community should also provide resources for the orientation and assimilation of newcomers, particularly immigrants. The fact that barriers to work and learning opportunities typically face the children of migrant parents makes it especially important that both the adults and the children achieve rapid cultural assimilation. To the extent that this can be achieved without excessive disruption, the newcomers will develop a sense of identification with the neighborhood and a perception of shared interests with neighbors.

A wide gamut of Mobilization programs will contribute to this purpose. The Unaffiliated program, by developing new adult groups, will encourage the involvement of newcomers. By attempting to make institutions more responsive to lower-class style and needs, it will help the in-migrant, as well as other low-income adults, to obtain needed services. Indeed, one of the organizer's functions might be to welcome in-migrants and to make them aware of community resources.

The broad-gauged "reaching-out" program for parents of junior-high-school students (Parent-Education Coordinators, See Appendix A-2) will facilitate the newcomer's use of community resources. It is anticipated that elementary-school teachers who visit pupils' homes as part of the School-Community Relations course will also welcome the immigrant and provide a source for referrals.

A major objective of the Mobilization Neighborhood Service Centers will be to facilitate absorption of newcomers into the community. To help the in-migrant cope with the complex organization of communal resources and the bureaucratization of many public and some private services, a Liaison Resources Unit will be located in the area, with representation from the Departments of Welfare, Buildings, Bureau of Attendance, Health, etc.[17] This unit will help newly arrived adults learn to make the most effective use of community resources and will also help these institutions to become more responsive to the needs of in-migrants.

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17. It is hoped that the Liaison Resources Unit (see Neighborhood Service Center, Appendix A-4) will have some influence on the attitudes of personnel offering the services. As noted in one study, "Close personal relations, such as the ability and willingness of the officer to identify with the group, to share their problems and their conditions of living, to provide friendliness, are characteristic of government personnel who seemed to facilitate adjustment to, and identification with, the new community." S. N. Eisenstadt, "The Process of Absorption of New Immigrants in Israel," Human Relations, Vol. 5, No. 3. (Aug. 1952), pp. 223-45, cited in Murray Ross, Community Organization, New York; Harper & Bros., 1955, p. 114.

Lower Eastside Neighborhoods Association

Thus far we have spoken of "community integration" from the standpoint of bringing lower-class residents into more effective and more congenial association with one another. We have suggested that such efforts will enhance social control, provide constructive outlets for dissidence, and give people a greater stake in community life.

To eradicate the basic social ills of the community and develop a healthier climate requires, in addition, the total mobilization of the project area, including schools, public agencies, business concerns, religious organizations, unions, landlord and tenant organizations, civic, social, fraternal, youth and political groups, social agencies, and any other organizations, groups, or individuals which have impact upon the life of the neighborhood. While the Organizing the Unaffiliated program emphasizes "reaching the unreached," we must not overlook the need to organize those persons and institutions already predisposed to involvement in community matters.

The Lower Eastside Neighborhoods Association has already done much effective work in this direction. In order to demonstrate what else might be achieved in this important area of community organization, it is proposed to substantially strengthen the neighborhood councils and to establish a Program Development Unit.

Neighborhood Councils

Two Neighborhood Councils are currently functioning in the Mobilization area. Set up initially in response to some emergent local problem or need, such as a gang fight or a two-session school, they consist of local groups of individuals and institutions who have continued to show a community-task and problem-solving orientation. Together with the Youth Services Teams of LENA (professional workers whose primary purpose is planning the efficient use of neighborhood resources for dealing individually and in groups with people who are in trouble), they provide a base for LENA's program of neighborhood and community-wide social action. Lending vocal and prestigeful support on a wide range of issues, they can be a potent resource for community betterment and control.

The Mobilization proposal suggests the strengthening of the existent Neighborhood Councils and the development of two others in the Mobilization area. This is to be accomplished by hiring a staff of four professional community organizers, each with responsibility for servicing a Neighborhood Council, plus one supervisor. Assistance from social work graduate students, clerical, and material aids also will be supplied.

Program Development Unit

It is necessary also to conceive of community integration in terms of the prevailing pattern of relationships among various institutions in the area, industrial, commercial, religious, educational, and social-welfare. Much of what happens to people in the conduct of their daily lives depends upon the level of coordination among these institutions. For example, within the social-welfare system itself (e.g., the settlement houses, recreation centers, social casework agencies, Department of Public Welfare), inadequate coordination and planning can greatly reduce the effective use of services by those for whom they are intended. In the absence of appropriate planning, disparate agencies may variously serve the same sector of the community, with the result that other groups needing service may receive little or none. In an era of vast reorganization and rebuilding of urban areas — with the extreme social dislocations attendant upon demolition and shifting of populations — the need for institutional coordination is paramount. Such coordination can be effective only when representatives of the varied institutions of the community are brought together to exchange information and opinions about common problems, provided with the data and other materials relevant to planning, and serviced by a staff of experts to advise them on policies and strategies of change.

The Lower Eastside Neighborhoods Association has been carrying on these functions for some years, but its work must be strengthened. The beneficial effects of programs in work, school, remedial services, and the like will be vitiated if the major institutions of the area are not also organized in a fashion which maximizes the life chances of residents in the area. In this connection, LENA has recently completed a master plan for the area, known as "The LENA Plan for Urban Living." It contains an appraisal of existing needs in a variety of areas, including education, recreation, housing, and health. It also contains recommendations pertinent to long-range planning, especially in the critical area of demolition and rebuilding of slum areas.

One of the major handicaps under which LENA now functions is the absence of expert personnel to conduct studies in sufficient depth of community needs and the resources of existing institutions to meet these needs. There is no substitute for systematic data in any planning and coordination effort, but LENA is now unable to invest sufficient of its limited resources in studies through which such information could be secured.

We therefore propose to establish in LENA a "program development unit" which would be charged with (1) the identification of significant community problems, (2) the systematic study of these problems through modern techniques of data gathering and analysis, (3) the development of recommendations for the solution of these problems, and (4) the presentation of recommendations to significant persons.

The studies to be undertaken — authorized by the LENA Board of Directors — would run the gamut of community problems, including studies of health needs, housing problems, physical resources, and recreational requirements. Reports would be prepared and disseminated by LENA to its constituents, its neighborhood councils, to the large community, and to appropriate legislative and action bodies. Such reports could become an important springboard for informed social action by other organizations in the project area.

The program development unit would consist of a study director and a research assistant with experience in both community activity and research. In addition, consultants will aid in developing program recommendations and disseminating information. Care would be taken in selecting personnel to ensure a high level of competence in survey research procedures and program evaluation techniques. Field and data processing operations will be conducted through the Mobilization For Youth Research Division.

Experimental Housing Programs

In a generation of experience with public housing, ramifications have become evident that were not initially anticipated. Large new projects have disrupted the existing social organization of slums by mass demolition and relocation . In the view of many observers, the slum community had provided some cohesion and control which is now being replaced by collectivities of disoriented and alienated individuals. Moreover, the recipients of public housing are seen as antagonized and oppressed by the regulations which govern their tenancy, and stigmatized by the clearly demarcated institutional character of the projects.[18] The resulting social disorganization and individual discontent, undesirable in themselves, also tend to vitiate the social benefits expected to follow from replacement of slums by decent and adequate housing, and to encourage patterns of behavior which eventually destroy the adequacy of the housing itself.

Since the Mobilization area is replete with public housing, it is proposed that new housing programs and policies be explored. The following proposals are only examples of possible innovations.

Pre-occupancy Planning

Adults who participate in decision-making processes, we have noted, are more highly committed to the outcome of the decisions. Failure to take this fact into account may be one cause of the maintenance deficiencies with which public-housing projects are beset. The limited success of programs of housekeeping instruction may be due in part to the limited commitment of most tenants to the project. With greater investment on their part, maintenance standards might be more efficiently enforced. A pre-occupancy planning program might thus serve this purpose.

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[18] See, for example, Miller and Werthman, op. cit.

Tenant-Management Relations

Strains between tenants and management are probably inherent, stemming from differences in position and interests. It would seem desirable to clarify mutual obligations, however, and to formulate policies which approximate customary tenant-landlord relations.

Tenant-Placement

Tenants might be distributed within projects in such a way as to encourage the formation of groups which will amicably and constructively interact.[19] This might be done by locating tenants within projects according to a family's stage in the life cycle, presumed to be indicative of shared interests and activities. A most effective approach to the creation of community -- although often not possible -- is the relocation of tenants in community blocks. Long-term housing programs might be planned around this objective. Even in a limited area and in limited time, some effort could be made.

Facilities

The obvious condition for the interaction of people is proximity and confrontation. This might be encouraged by relatively simple devices to increase the attractiveness of places of social gathering.[20]

The consequences of developments in housing policy on social organization are necessarily uncertain. For this reason, a deliberately experimental program, exploring, evaluating, and innovating upon an array

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19. See Herbert J. Gans, "Planning and Social Life, Journal of the American Institute of Planners, May 1961, pp. 134-40.
20. Proposals in this area might draw upon the suggestions of Elizabeth Wood in a recent report. Elizabeth Wood, Housing Design: A Social Theory, New York: Citizens' Housing and Planning Council, 1961.

of alternatives, is appropriate. It is planned that such program will be detailed in subsequent Mobilization proposals.

New Frontiers In Services

It is anticipated that during the operation of the project new needs for services will be revealed and new ideas for services developed. To ensure a degree of flexibility in developing new services and meeting new needs, it is imperative that funds be available.

It is recommended, therefore, that Mobilization For Youth establish a New Frontiers in Services unit to work with public and voluntary agencies and institutions in initiating demonstration projects which will emphasize the discovery of new knowledge and the development of new methods of practice in the field of delinquency prevention and control.

A Technical Advisory Committee will be established to work with this unit.

Appendix A - 4

SPECIALIZED SERVICES TO INDIVIDUALS AND FAMILIES

Mobilization for Youth

One of our major guidelines to action entails intervention to arrest self-defeating modes of adaptation. The program of specialized services to individuals and families has been designed to achieve that end. Our proposal calls for the provision of social casework services of the highest quality to people who are enmeshed in self-defeating adaptations. It is an attempt to extend and to expand the programs of personal service pioneered by local casework agencies and the settlements in the area.

There are a variety of reasons that a program to modify self-defeating adaptations among low-income people should be based upon social casework services. Principal among these is the fact that the field of social casework has, since its inception, directed attention to the relationship between people and their social environment. It has insisted that the origin of many social categories of human problems cannot simply be attributed to defects in the social environment or to defects in individual patterns of response to the social environment; many of these problems must be understood as the product of both sets of influences. Accordingly, social casework has constructed a helping strategy which takes account of these interacting influences. It has emphasized that the helping relationship must consist of two analytically distinct but otherwise inseparable elements: the controlled use of worker-client interaction as a way of understanding and dealing with the client's pattern of response, and the controlled use of concrete social services as a way of reorganizing the client's social circumstances. Indeed, the fundamental contribution of social casework has been to demonstrate that the helping relationship achieves maximal effectiveness when it combines in a single process devices to remedy defects in both the patterns of response and the social circumstances of people. The uniqueness of social casework stems primarily from its success in generating a technology which blends these two elements.

The importance of approaching the problem of self-defeating adaptations among low-income people with such a strategy cannot be overemphasized. A breakdown in the relationship between people and their social environment may result from the absence of adequate environmental resources, from inadequate modes of responding to the environment, or, most commonly, from a combination of these factors. To remedy defects in the social environment by providing concrete social services may be enough in some instances to produce a more adequate level of functioning; to remedy defects in the way in which people respond to and make use of their environment may be enough in other instances to produce better functioning. In some cases, however, low-income people will require assistance of both kinds.

The remedies for self-defeating responses which can be offered through social casework services are as many and varied as the roots of those responses. Some of these may be noted as follows:

First, some people may engage in self-defeating adaptations simply because they do not possess information about the possibility of behaving in an alternate way. There are services in the community, for example, about which many people know nothing. Furthermore, certain administrative arrangements prevent the development of a sense of community integrity and also thwart residents' efforts to understand and gain access to these services. Thus city departments which perform many basic services define widely variant boundaries. For example, the Department of Welfare unit which includes the project area also includes the rest of lower Manhattan; two school districts serve the project area and include other areas as well. A service that simply provides people with information on where help of various kinds can be found may thus open to them the possibility of making a different adjustment to life circumstances.

Second, self-defeating patterns often develop and persist because people lack the simple skills necessary for making an alternative adjustment. For example, in lower-income families a variety of financial problems arise which are related to inadequate skills in budgeting, purchasing, and the like. If these skills can be acquired through informal education services (e.g., home-economics programs), more satisfactory adjustments can be made.

Third, self-defeating modes of adjustment sometimes result because people do not have access to persons who possess the power to change circumstances that prevent them from behaving otherwise. What is needed is the help of persons who can intervene in their behalf with, for example, representatives of powerful and centralized bureaucratic systems (e.g., employers, schools, law-enforcement agencies, housing administrators, departments of public welfare, etc.).

Fourth, self-defeating adaptations often develop because people lack what we shall call enabling social resources. A mother cannot maintain contact with her child's school and interest in his progress if there is no money to pay for the care of smaller children while she visits the school. What may pass for a lack of interest in important out-of-home activities may thus be in part a consequence of overwhelming burdens and responsibilities in the home which leave parents with neither time nor energy to invest elsewhere.

A service program which is organized to provide strategic enabling social resources will go a long way toward arresting self-defeating adaptations.

Finally, self-defeating patterns frequently result from emotional or psychological disturbances. Indeed, considering the deprivations which many people in urban slums are forced to endure, it is remarkable that so many manage to maintain an adequate level of mental health. In work with the low-income person, therefore, it is especially important to realize the fact that efforts to reorganize the individual's personality system are useless if the environmental system of which he is a part continues to evoke from him the same debilitating psychological responses. In general, therefore, efforts to involve the individual in therapeutic processes must be preceded or accompanied by attempts to improve his social conditions.

Our proposed program, while based on traditional patterns of social casework service, will have two special emphases. These may be identified as follows:

In work with families from extremely deprived economic groups, concrete social services will be strongly emphasized. There are a number of reasons for this emphasis. Groups cannot be helped if they cannot be reached. It is generally conceded that lower-class persons are drawn to agencies which have concrete services to offer. Their social and economic problems are both concrete and overwhelming, and they are quite naturally in search of equally concrete ways of solving these problems. For another thing, they tend to define these problems as the consequence of external, arbitrary, capricious, and malevolent forces. One detects in these groups powerful if subtle emphases upon fate, upon the evil and immutable nature of man, upon man as the victim of superordinate natural and social forces. For these and other reasons, members of these groups regard as alien and impractical the notion that a person in trouble can improve his circumstances through a better understanding of himself and the way in which he contributes to creating his own problems. Furthermore, the personality attributes and skills required to implement such a definition -- introspection, insight, verbal facility, and the conduct of formalized, professional relationships -- are, for the most part, not valued or possessed by lower-class groups; they are more likely to be associated with middle-class socialization. To reach these groups, then, concrete services are essential.

A further reason for our emphasis upon concrete services is our conviction that such services, if imaginatively employed in the context of a casework relationship, can be a powerful force for change in human behavior. For one thing, services which relieve environmental pressures may thus release blocked energies for investment in areas of family and occupational activity which were previously neglected. Strains between parents and children, for example, can often be relieved by overcoming superficially unrelated problems in the areas of health, income-maintenance, and the like. Secondly, some persons who experience overwhelming environmental pressures may become capable of making use of specialized therapeutic relationships once the external pressures are reduced. Although we believe that many low-income persons cannot benefit greatly from traditional therapeutic services, some do possess the values and skills that are required for success in such relationships. For these persons, the relief of environmental pressures can be the crucial first step in making a therapeutic service inviting and effective.[1]

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[1] Although extensive studies have been conducted by Community Research Associates, they report that "little is known about treatment goals and methods suitable to this (unsocial) family's particular problems...." It has been argued -- in our opinion, with some justification -- that traditional treatment agencies have not been willing to invest the time or resources necessary to provide intensive psychological help to low-income families. See Alice L. Voiland and Bradley Buell, "A Classification of Disordered Family Types," Social Work, Vol. 6, No. 4 (Oct. 1961), pp. 10-11.

Finally, and most significantly, we believe that much is yet to be learned about the way in which changes in human behavior can be forcefully induced by deliberately reordering the social environment of the individual. What we wish to stress is the reconstruction of the individual's social conditions through a casework process so that he then experiences new pressures which exert a direct influence on him for change in a preconceived direction. We assume that significant problem-solving and social and psychological growth take place as one becomes enmeshed in and is forced to grapple with changed social circumstances. Such an approach is particularly appropriate in dealing with large segments of the lower class, given their distinctive economic circumstances, cultural characteristics, and reluctance to become engaged in direct psychological activities. We suggest, in short, a strategy of social casework which employs social services and community resources generally as instruments of positive social and psychological change.

To refine and extend this traditional emphasis in social casework calls for professional activity of the highest quality. What is required is caref assessment of the client's difficulties and appraisal of the kinds of social structure in which he ought to participate if changes are to take place. The question we must answer is: What types of person can be expected to be influenced in what ways by what types of program? The task is to make a differential diagnosis of the client's difficulties, to classify the influences which will be exerted by one or another program, and to bring the two together in a meaningful fashion. Such an approach -- stressing the possibilities of altering behavior and personality through the imaginative reconstruction of social circumstances buttressed by appropriate supportive casework relationships will, we believe, yield greater rewards in work with many low-income people.

We have spoken thus far of the need for emphasis on concrete services in working with low-income clientele. We wish also to emphasize the need to structure the service system itself in such a way as to maximize its congeniality to the group whom it is intended to engage.

All that we have said thus far leads us to deplore the unfortunate but nevertheless widespread tendency to separate agencies which provide primarily social services from those which provide service primarily through professional relationships. This split is exemplified, for example, in the division between government agencies which disburse funds for income maintenance and private agencies which make professional relationships available. The failure to integrate these two components of the helping relationship and thus to make them mutually reinforcing may be a significant impediment to the provision of effective aid. Our proposals stress the integration of these services in the same system.

A plan of services for low-income people must also take into account the bewildering consequences which ensue if these services are mediated through huge, centralized agency systems. For reasons arising from differences in socialization and life experiences, lower-class people are less skilled in dealing with and using the services of such systems than are their middle-class counterparts. In particular, they are less able to manage bureaucratic inequities when they arise; since low-income people require the concrete services of these systems for sheer survival, the inability to redress grievances effectively can be an important source of frustration, a sense of impotence, and self-defeating behavior. To engage people effectively, we submit, services must be informally organized. This requirement arises in part from the person-oriented character of low-income socialization, as distinct from the task- or function- or rule-orientations which are major components of socialization elsewhere in the social structure. Furthermore, we submit that services must be decentralized, for "the people who need you most need you near."[2] Although the costs of such a plan may superficially appear greater, the effectiveness of services will be disproportionately increased by such a strategy.

Thirdly, the increased use of sociocultural knowledge in approaches to these groups is important. Such knowledge is crucial whatever the clientele to be served, but it assumes particular importance in work with low-income groups. For one thing, the general life conditions of lower-class people tend to produce ways of life -- modes of family structure, sex-role differentiation, values, language forms, ways of relating to one another, etc. -- which differ significantly from the more familiar and widely diffused patterns of middle-class life. For another thing, the ethnic heterogeneity of our society is especially pronounced in the lower class. No program of services which fails to identify these variant sociocultural patterns of life and their psychological concomitants can hope to involve the people whom it seeks to help. To help them, by whatever method, we must construct a strategy of service which grows out of their patterned ways of understanding, perceiving, and grappling with reality. A not inconsiderable literature now exists which describes the life-styles of low-income groups of various ethnic, nationality, and racial origins. What is needed is systematic use of these materials in both the revision of diagnostic classifications and the modification of service strategies.

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[2] Helen Hall, as quoted in Neighborhood Goals in a Rapidly Changing World, New York: National Federation of Settlements and Neighborhood Centers, 1958, p. 13.

Neighborhood Service Centers

The principal means of providing specialized services to individuals and families will be the establishment of four Service Centers, or "helping stations," throughout the project area. These Centers will be informally organized and will offer a wide range of services, both practical and technical.

Objectives

The Neighborhood Service Centers will attempt to arrest self-defeating modes of adaptation by helping adults to deal with the complexities of, and acquire competence in, urban social life; encouraging the non-deviant adaptations of children and youth who have shown signs of incipient deviant behavior or have committed delinquent acts; and easing the dislocating aspects of migration into the community. The Centers will, furthermore, provide training for students of social work and other helping professions. To meet these objectives, the intermediate goals of the Centers will be:

1. To provide information about a wide range of community recources -- from the school system to the subway system.

2. To teach skills in such matters as budget management, purchasing, home management, and child care.

3. To act as intermediaries in dealings with bureaucratized services and inequities.

4. To establish closer connections between area, district, and city-wide resources; to ensure the coordination of Mobilization-sponsored and other institutional services which affect a particular child or family.

5. To offer such direct services as nurses, baby sitters, homemakers, and escorts, in order that the burdens of lower-income living may be eased

and educational, vocational, medical, and other community services may be used more fully.

6. To offer enabling social resources with professional sensitivity and psychological insight -- so that they may be most effectively used.

7. To offer immediate help in time of trouble or emotional distress -- i.e., "emergency psychological first aid."

8. To make available intensive diagnosis and treatment services to selected low-income persons.

Services

The Neighborhood Centers will provide an inquiry service, a liaison-resources service, "under-the-roof" services, social planning, referral, and reintegration services.

Inquiry service: This service is designed to provide immediate practical information in response to inquiries about housing, education, public welfare, legal problems, consumer problems, and the like. People who speak a foreign language and who are interested in service careers will be sought as case aides. A professional caseworker will train and supervise these aides. Staff will be acquainted with community resources and procedures for gaining access to them and will thus be prepared to answer questions. The service will have on hand city maps, guidebooks, application forms for public housing, and the like. Where available material is too complex, simplified booklets, particularly of a visual nature, or Spanish translations of existing literature will be prepared. Staff will make introductions (by telephone or letter) in behalf of the client and will accompany the client to clinic, court, or community center, as required (e.g., when he is particularly wary or, as in the case of immigrants, unfamiliar with the city and the intricacies of its various bureaucratic structures).

Applicants, particularly youth and parents inquiring about youth, will not be required to give their names upon first contact.[3] It is assumed, of course, that the inquiry service will provide entry to the other services offered. For example, a person who is having "trouble" with his welfare investigator, who has waited "too long" for response to his public-housing application, or whose landlord will not heat his flat may be referred by the case aide to the liaison-resources service (see below). When there is confusion about a request, obvious anxiety on the part of the client, or dissatisfaction regarding the information or proposed solution, a caseworker will handle the contact and either resolve the problem or offer the client other services of the Center.

It is likely that persons needing emergency help with emotional problems will also use the information service. For example, a mother desiring that her youngster be "put away" may inquire about immediate commitment. In such instances, significant help will be provided by the high level of casework personnel available at the Center.

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[3] A delinquency-prevention proposal quotes one human-relations expert as follows: "You have little idea what an attraction it would be -- as an introduction to sincerity on your part -- to offer to advise without asking name, address, mother's nationality, place of birth of grandfather, etc. The burden of making the inverview work, of getting the person to return again and of finally getting the data you need several interviews later should be on the shoulders of the worker... who interviews the person -- not on the shoulders of the person coming in.... An agency that was willing to make contact -- the first time -- by saying you need not give your name or particulars would be half way there before it ever began." A Proposal for a Community-Centered Demonstration and Research Project Aimed at the Control of Maladaptive Behavior among Juveniles: Research Center for Human Relations, New York University, Jan. 1957.

Liaison-resources service: A liaison-resources service will be established, composed of representatives of various municipal departments (Housing and Building, Welfare, Health, etc.) as well as employment services. In addition, explorations will be made with the Legal Aid Society for the provision of legal services, and caseworkers will be assigned on a full-time basis for liaison work with the courts. The liaison personnel will be of sufficient status in their respective agencies to function effectively as intermediaries, handling bottlenecks and red tape and carrying forward the resolution of problems brought to their attention. As intermediaries, they will explain the function of their agencies to complainants as well as redress justified grievances.

A team of liaison personnel will appear in each Neighborhood Center on a different day and will also be available to any Center in case of emergency. The rotation of the liaison team will permit attention to diverse needs and problems which overlap functional areas. The strain of dealing with many offices in connection with a single problem often results in frustration for those who need help. The integration of many services in one team can have the psychological effect of stimulating clients' efforts in their own behalf.

The administrator of the Neighborhood Services Center project will be responsible for working with liaison personnel. He will need a working knowledge of the various agencies and access to higher-echelon personnel in them. He will encourage staff to develop respect and understanding of ethnic minorities and newcomers and will interpret to them the way in which their agencies are perceived by disadvantaged persons. (It is hoped that this interaction in part will change the response of the welfare worker to the client. This, in turn, ought to influence positively the client's perception of the welfare worker's role.)

It is anticipated that liaison-resources services may ultimately be expanded to include full agency units. For example, a Department of Welfare unit of five workers might be requested to assist specific families on Welfare whose children have shown educational difficulties which appear to be home-related. Particular attention might be provided to such matters as medical care, tutorial aides, nutritional needs, and liberalized youth allowances.

"Under-the-roof" services: Enabling social resources, we have noted, are often of central importance in relieving environmental pressures and making it possible for deprived and overburdened people to make a better social and psychological adjustment. "Under-the-roof" services will seek to organize and provide these resources.

A Social Caseworker will be responsible for making assignments, basing the selection upon the validity of the need itself, with no requirement for continuing casework relationship. Casework help will be necessary, however, to determine whether the service is most suitable for the family, to help parents and children make best use of the service, and to assist with problems emerging from the use of the service. In addition, the social caseworker will train and supervise personnel.

A Public Health Nurse will visit the homebound, make appropriate medical referrals, follow up on appointments, and confer with other Center staff on the health problems of clients. The location of a nurse in each Center will help her to collaborate effectively with caseworkers and will make possible an immediate, uncumbersome referral system.

A Visiting Homemaker (see below) will offer assistance to new migrant families who need help in becoming adjusted to urban life. Homemakers will receive in-service training and then will be assigned to homes in their immediate area. Conceived of as an "amicus familiae," neither a professional homemaker nor a domestic but simply a more experienced, kindly neighbor, the homemaker will help with the daily chores of shopping, meal preparation, sewing, etc. In addition, she will share neighborhood "know how," give general advice, and encourage the use of community resources.

Escorts and Baby-sitters will be members of the Urban Youth Service Corps. In pre-service instruction, youngsters will be familiarized with community resources and taught how to assist a client in making an application or arriving at an appropriate office. With baby-sitters, child behavior and what to do in case of emergency will be discussed.

Social-planning service: This service will integrate the other services offered by the Centers. It will be offered initially for a limited number of clients on an exploratory basis. The social-planning service will be responsible for identifying and diagnosing problems of especially troubled families, developing a social plan, implementing and following through the plan, and deciding when to terminate services.

The service must determine to what degree "problem" behavior stems from emotional disturbance, socio-cultural factors, or situational frustration. In current practice, socio-cultural material is used essentially to amend psychological schema. For example, a hospitalized Jewish male who demands a great deal of attention from his nurses is less likely to be termed passive-dependent than a man of "old American" stock who reacts similarly, since such behavior during illness is sanctioned by Jewish culture. Diagnosis must in addition give appropriate weight to the psychological and social determinants of problems. Is the person a victim of a bad reality situation? Or is he responsible for the problem although the reality situation itself is bad?[4] Diagnosis must also assess the amenability of the social situation to casework intervention, in addition to the client's accessibility to help. Perhaps the client is too often viewed as the exclusive target for change attempts. If a set of housing policies, for example, triggers aberrant behavior, the behavior often becomes the exclusive object of intervention efforts, rather than the policies themselves.

Treatment of problems which are primarily social in nature must provide social opportunities, just as psychological treatment offers a restorative relationship. Many lower-income clients must be convinced that the objective reality warrants their abandonment of self-defeating behavior. If, for example, ethnic or racial discrimination makes it impossible to improve the social situation, alienation must not be augmented by deprecating client dissatisfaction or encouraging concentration upon "inner" problems.

Wherever possible, intake and sustained service of the social-planning unit ought to be the responsibility of the same worker. Differential diagnoses will, of course, lead to a specific plan for each individual or family, to be developed with the family. Teacher, guidance counselor, settlement worker, public-health nurse, homemaker, welfare worker, psychiatrist will then be called upon as required. The caseworker, viewed here as a "general practitioner," will coordinate the effort.

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[4] Lillian Ripple and Ernestina Alexander, "Motivation, Capacity, and Opportunity as Related to Casework Services," Social Service Review, Vol. 30, No. 1 (March 1956), pp. 38-54

One worker should be responsible for seeing that the plan is carried out. It has been reported that 50 percent of the clients who were referred to a second department within the same agency did not make the transfer.[5] Making a single worker accountable for implementing the social plan ensures that such persons will be worked with until transfer is effected or the plan changed.[6]

Referral service: The social-planning service will refer clients who require protracted diagnostic or treatment effort to appropriate local agencies -- for example, the mental-hygiene clinics of Henry Street and University Settlements. A service unit will be established in each clinic, which will have two major objectives: (1) to test classical casework treatment services with lower-class clients and (2) to experiment with newer casework methods, such as family-centered treatment. The Mobilization Chief of Individual Services will work closely with these contracted units in order to ensure their experimental nature, as well as their coordination with the Neighborhood Service Centers. Close coordination with other existent casework services within the community will, of course, also be necessary.

Social-reintegration service: To help newly released offenders to locate needed social resources and increase their capacity to exploit these resources, an experimental unit of trained parole officers will operate in the Service Centers. The reintegration experiment is described later in this appendix.

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[5] Report, Individual Services Advisory Committee of Mobilization or Youth, Sept. 1961.

[6] "A basic deficiency in community programs appears to be in responsibility and accountability. This lack is a central one and transcends the practices of individual agencies.... We have not yet established the principle that the child who is in trouble and who is 'found' must not be 'lost'." Alfred J. Kahn, For Children in Trouble, New York: Citizens' Committee for Children, 1957.

Facilities and Staff

The Neighborhood Service Centers will be so situated that they will be readily accessible to the residents. They will be located either in frequently used buildings, such as settlement houses, or in tenement storefronts. If the latter, the quarters will be made highly visible as a "walk-in" service. An informal and cordial atmosphere will prevail. Newcomers will not be required to make initial appointments but will be seen on a "drop-in" basis.

The Neighborhood Services Center project will be directly administered by Mobilization's Assistant Chief of Individual Services, a caseworker with a community-organization and administration background. In addition to the requisite training and experience, he will need to be an innovating person, congenial to the testing of new methodology and organization of services. He will be responsible for the ideological and professional direction of the program, will work directly with the liaison-resources and reintegration services, and will, with others, represent the Center with public and private agencies. Three Caseworkers with sufficient experience to supervise social-work students and others will work with two Case Aides in each of the Centers. One of the caseworkers in each Center will be responsible for the field education of units of five or six students. In addition to the liaison and other personnel resources described above (homemaker, nurse, escort, etc.), a Psychiatrist and a Sociologist, each working half time, will provide primarily consultation services. A caseworker with supervisory experience and a second trained caseworker will form the experimental service unit in each of the mental-hygiene clinics.

The various services offered by the Centers will not be established as separate units within the agencies. In line with the "general practitioner" model of the caseworker's role, casework staff will perform all the functions required of the agency. The decentralization of the program, permitting each Center to be relatively small, will lessen the need for specialization within the offered services and will permit the informal give and take that mitigates overlapping effort and prevents confusion.

Intake

Working arrangements will be established with the local community institutions to encourage referrals to the Neighborhood Service Centers. It is anticipated that teachers doing home visiting will call upon the Centers, as will guidance personnel, attendance officers, and principals. Local police will be asked to refer youngsters in trouble before carrying through discretionary police action. Court, settlement, church, and housing personnel will also be encouraged to send families to the Center.

Center staff will visit especially troubled persons referred by reliable community sources. These visits will proceed on an exploratory basis to avoid being defined as "meddling" and to determine whether the service can indeed be offered in a way which is acceptable to the individuals and families reached even when they do not request help. For some alienated families, this "reaching out" may be a necessary means to the desired solution of a problem.

Most important, it is expected that the design and location of the Centers, plus informal word of mouth, will stimulate self-referral. The close relationship of the indigenous community organizers to the Centers will further facilitate their use by persons who might otherwise shun professionalized services. It is, in fact, these very clients whom the Centers hope most to attract. Special emphasis will also be placed upon services to families with children, particularly those between 10 and 15 years of age.

Relationship to the Community

A major facet of the Neighborhood Service Center proposal is the plan to offer coordinated social and psychological services. In addition to gathering personnel of varying expertise, this plan makes it necessary to ensure the participation of a gamut of community agencies. Many of these agencies will, of course, be involved directly through their provision of services, such as those represented in the liaison-resources unit. Others will become involved as a result of cooperative efforts with other Lower East Side agencies. Participation in the Youth Services teams of LENA will materially aid this effort.

The Centers will be closely integrated with the other programs offered by Mobilization and by the local settlements, churches, and other institutions. For example, social workers participating in the School-Community Relations course, who assist teachers in home visiting and perform guidance functions at the schools, will maintain close connection with the casework staff of the Centers. Youngsters from the Urban Youth Service Corps will supply some of the manpower needs of Centers. Community organizers working with unaffiliated lower-class groups will maintain their offices at the Centers and will thus be able to provide a ready channel of communication between the casework staff and the disadvantaged members of those groups.

The administration of the Neighborhood Service Centers will be the responsibility of Mobilization for Youth in cooperation with the Interdepartmental

Committee of Commissioners. This plan is proposed in order to ensure the integration of social services which are ordinarily offered under public auspices with professional and psychological services more often provided in the private sector. Furthermore, public involvement will encourage continued city support when the Mobilization experiment has ended.

In addition, a Neighborhood Advisory Committee will be formed. Leaders who reside in the area will be recruited, in order to maximize use of the service and community identification with it. Some of these leaders might be drawn from the indigenous influentials who are to be identified and involved in the community program of Organizing the Unaffiliated (see Appendix A-3). The Advisory Committee will not differ markedly from the boards of those voluntary agencies which do not have fund-raising functions, as, for example, in the foster-care field. Although its composition will, of course, be different, it will serve primarily a community-relations role. The Committee will publicize and interpret Center services. It will inform staff of local community perceptions of the program and advise them about meeting the needs of lower-income persons. Most important, however, it is hoped that the involvement of local community leaders in the decision-making process will increase the feeling of neighborhood people that, to some degree, the Centers are "theirs."[7]

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[7] In describing the wartime social services of the National Maritime Union, Bertha Reynolds states that consumers of services ideally should own them. She maintains that the sense of belonging lessens resistance to help. Bertha Reynolds, Social Work and Social Living, New York: Citadel Press, 1951, esp. Chaps. 2 and 3.

Visiting Homemaker Service

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In a previous era, the Visiting Nurse Service was instituted to meet the health needs of a low socioeconomic population. Today many families in congested areas similarly require the assistance of skilled personnel to negotiate the complexities of urban living.

It is anticipated that the Visiting Homemaker Service will facilitate the acculturation of newcomers to the project area and intervene in families in which self-defeating life-styles have been perpetuated for generations. It will provide a corps of practical home-service workers who will offer adults both training and direct assistance, as needed. The objectives of the service are:

1. To assist parents in achieving a more adequate home and family life by providing information about and demonstrating day-to-day routines basic to social living.

2. To relieve some of the burdens and tensions of harassed families and ease some of the dislocating aspects of immigration into the community.

3. To encourage participation in community programs, thus bringing individuals and families otherwise alienated from the community into constructive interaction with others.

The visiting homemaker will assume the role of the long-time resident who introduces the community to the newcomer. The homemaker will not be a domestic or visiting housekeeper with the sole purpose of lightening burdens temporarily, nor will she assume a superior or supervisory relation to the client because of her instructional function.

The visiting homemaker's frequent presence in the home will give her a unique picture of the family in its total interactions and its problems of child welfare, physical and mental health, etc. Because of her close, informal contact with the family in concrete, tangible matters, she will be able to elicit discussion and encourage the use of the resources and services of the Neighborhood Services Center and other community resources. Where parents and families are reluctant to take initial steps, she may gain their permission to make overtures for them. Her knowledge of the family can be of invaluable help to the caseworker.

The homemaker's services will encompass the following:

1. Protecting the health of family members by encouraging periodic medical and dental check-ups.

2. Improving the housewife's competence as a consumer; in marketing, shopping, installment buying, etc.

3. Teaching the housewife to manage her budget so as to derive maximal use of limited finances (getting value received for expenditures, learning where to obtain wanted items and what to avoid).

4. Giving assistance in organizing the home and household routines so as to provide the optimal environment in support of educational and vocational goals for youth.

5. Helping to arrange for escort services, baby sitters, etc., so that the housewife can keep health, education, welfare, and social agency appointments; attend parent-education and consumer-education meetings; and participate in community-improvement projects.

6. Giving information and encouragement to parents and youth participating in community organizations.

Problems common to all residents in the vicinity will emerge in the course of work with individual families and youth. Small groups should be formed for group-demonstration programs in home improvement. These groups might also be asked to discuss the value of visiting-homemaker services, to suggest changes, and to offer suggestions for additional services. Problems which center around such concerns as school, sanitation, street conditions, municipal departments, services, etc. will be linked closely to the community-organization aspects of the Mobilization for Youth and LENA programs.

Intake and Case Loads

Interest in the service will be stimulated by ministers, public-health nurses, home-visiting teachers, social-agency personnel, settlement-house workers, housing managers, etc. As the service establishes an image among the local population, self-referrals will increase through word-of-mouth.

Intake will be handled through the Neighborhood Service Centers. A staff member will assess the level of family living, the nature and depth of problems, and the type and extent of service required. Other needs revealed during the intake interview may call for other services or may be held for future activity. Eligibility for the Visiting Homemaker Service will not be contingent upon the acceptance of a casework plan or other stipulations. Casework screening will distinguish between homes requiring the instruction-demonstration type of program for improving family competences and those requiring homemaker services of a type offered by other agencies (i.e., to prevent family break-up, to place children away from home, for emergency and crisis situations in the home.)

It is assumed that one to four hours will be spent in each visit, with the frequency of visits varying from daily to monthly. As work progresses, the frequency and duration of visits to each family will diminish, permitting acceleration of the program and augmented coverage.

Recruitment and Training of Staff

Personnel will be recruited from a cultural, socioeconomic, and ethnic background similar to that of the resident population, with a high-school degree or equivalent education. To the extent possible, staff will be drawn from the Lower East Side, to permit better coverage and to draw on a greater knowledge of conditions in the area.

A one-year work-study plan will be instituted, with courses offered either in conjunction with the adult-education program at a high school or as extension courses by a college. The program of formal training will encompass the subjects of preventive family health; nutrition; family and community hygiene; organization of household tasks and routines; low-cost meal planning, preparation, and serving; fundamentals of parent-child relationships; adolescent behavior; budget management; care of appliances and household equipment; and knowledge of the resources of the community and the city.

Completion of the course will carry increases in salary. In the middle phase of the project, a municipal civil-service category might be established for such personnel. (Precedent for such a category exists for homemakers employed by the Department of Public Welfare.)

In-service training of visiting homemakers will be conducted by two professional casework supervisors. It will be designed to develop skills in offering services so that the self-esteem and competences of family members are elevated; to increase alertness to family problems, child-welfare needs, parent-child relationships, etc., for referral to the Neighborhood Service Centers; to deepen and extend knowledge of community resources which can be useful to family members; to develop alertness to common needs and interests for which special group programs may be helpful and community action required.

Phases of Operation

This program should be instituted in the Lillian Wald and Jacob Riis Housing Projects, where housing conditions, room space, and assistance from the managerial staff in a structured setting can support experimentation. In addition to upgrading household maintenance in the housing project, it is anticipated that the presence of homemakers will aid in integrating project residents with the broader community. As experience is gained with administrative and organizational aspects of the program, the community bordering on the projects can be the next target. (This is a desirable next step, since this area is scheduled as a Neighborhood Conservation Area.) Ultimately, the program will be extended through the Mobilization area.

The Social Reintegration of Released Juvenile Offenders

Despite the corrective experience of institutionalization, the rate of recidivism for released offenders is discouragingly high. Considering various omissions and inaccuracies, some authorities estimate recidivism in such low-income areas as the Lower East Side as 70 to 80 percent. Approximately 100 released young offenders re-enter the Mobilization area during a one-year period.

The high rate of recidivism for released offenders is often cited to discredit a rehabilitative approach in correctional institutions and to justify a reversion to purely punitive practices. We assert, to the contrary, that the poor record of success suggests a need for expansion of rehabilitative services to delinquents who have been institutionalized.

Current treatment both during and after incarceration largely ignores the role of social conditions in the post-institutional period. For the most part, aftercare has been a matter of surveillance to determine whether the ex-inmate is complying with the stipulations of his release. The approach both during and after imprisonment is based on the assumption that if an inmate is properly motivated he will succeed. The situation contains a bitter paradox, however: to the extent that the correctional institution is able to induce an inmate to strive for success, it may increase the likelihood that he will recidivate, for few legitimate resources are open to the released offender. There is no question that appropriate motivation and psychological capacity are essential to conformity. Nor is it fair to assert that current institutions fail to instill motivation. In fact, our evidence on adolescent inmates suggests that most of them want to "make good" when they are released.

The social deprivations of a released offender are the result of a negative social and, in turn, self-image. His handicaps are intensifications of the invidious definitions attached to all lower-status slum youth. The ceremonial degradations which accompany institutionalization stigmatize the young inmate. His public identity becomes that of delinquent or social incompetent. Positive institutional response and early release do not mitigate this reputation. The pejorative public image accompanies him into conventional society and serves as a formidable barrier to conformity. The stigma attached to ex-inmates sometimes causes persons who control access to social resources (employment, education) to look upon him with suspicion and mistrust. These persons in effect may bar his efforts to adjust by withholding the social, educational, and vocational opportunities requisite for positive adjustment.

The ceremonial degradation and public censure affect the attitudes of the offender's parents or legal guardians, who fear that he will repeat his violations and once again expose them to shame. In order to protect themselves from further humiliation, they may resort to rather extreme defenses. They may proscribe him or "let him go his own way"; they may become overly restrictive and demanding, thereby denying him any role in stabilizing himself. In either case, they communicate to the youngster their lack of confidence in him.

Parents of peers may also complicate his readjustment. They may exert pressure on their offspring, particularly daughters, to avoid him. He is prohibited from dating "nice girls" and from going to parties with the "good kids." He is thus prevented from establishing meaningful relationships with those contemporaries who could buttress his motivation for conformity.

The reaction of employers to ex-inmates, whether adult or juvenile, is well documented. Most of them consider the group an inordinate risk, undependable and unreliable. As a consequence, the released offender may be refused employment or peremptorily dismissed, regardless of performance, once his institutional record is discovered. Even when he does get work, he often experiences handicaps not imposed on other workers, for surveillance is more exacting and chances for advancement are less likely.

The impact of the bad reputation is also bitterly experienced in school. In low-income areas, where schools face a control problem anyway, personnel may be particularly wary of taking on released offenders. They recognize that ex-inmates may be unmanageable and spark disturbances.

The destructive impact of the invidious definition derives not only from others' responses but from the offender's own response to degradation as well. Although he hopes not to be stigmatized, he nonetheless anticipates that "some people will look down on you because you've been up here." He is unable to specify just who those people are, but he knows that they exist. Consequently he tends to be suspicious of others' reactions to him. An employer's normal criticism for defective work or a school teacher's rebuke for noisy behavior in class is interpreted as proof of rejection. Thus society's definition of the ex-inmate often contributes to his self-defeating behavior and his inability to exploit the few opportunities that do turn up.

The Program

Our program for the reintegration of offenders will have a three-dimensional approach in contrast to the primarily motivational emphasis of many current programs. We shall include:

1. Personalized guidance to buttress institutionally acquired motivation for conformity.

2. Direct intervention in the client's social situation to provide access to resources essential for conventional adjustment.

3. Individualized training and guidance to impart specific knowledge, skills, and attitudes requisite for optimal use of these resources.

Although limited advantages and self-defeating behavior are, to a certain extent, problems of many lower-class youth, they are exacerbated by confinement and require intensive individualized attention in rehabilitative programs. Educational and vocational opportunities, which are the principal routes to conforming statuses for all youngsters, will, of course, be the major resources offered to released offenders. Estrangement from parents and peers as a result of public degradation will also be a target of reintegrative services.

A small unit of specially trained probation officers will conduct an experimental program for released adolescent offenders on the Lower East Side. The State Department of Welfare, as well as the private correctional institutions, will be requested to relinquish authority for aftercare of released offenders to Mobilization Neighborhood Service Centers. The majority of youth will be from public institutions since these serve the largest number of offenders and the most difficult youth.

The unit will consist of three officers at the outset. In addition to the guidance skills required of all staff performing advanced probation and parole duties, these officers will need to acquire, through pre-service training, the knowledge and techniques for affecting changes in the post-institutional situations of offenders and for enabling them to exploit expanded opportunities. The officers' ready access to the Neighborhoood Service Centers, to other Mobilization resources such as the Youth Jobs Center, and to personnel in the Mobilization-area schools will facilitate their task. Because of the considerably broadened role of probationary services in this unit, the caseload will be significantly smaller than the staff-client ratio in current programs. Since the service is experimental, the number of youth to be served by each officer will be determined by trial and error.

Through communication with the juvenile courts as well as with the other relevant agencies, the unit will keep informed of all young offenders who reside in and expect to return to the area as soon as a formal decision for commitment has been made. The caseload will consist of youngsters undergoing initial institutionalization and will include a number of those defined by the unit as "difficult." Criteria for intake will have to be developed by the officers themselves.

The program will consist of two continuous, interrelated phases. The Confinement Phase will start at the earliest feasible date after institutional commitment. The Aftercare Phase will begin at the time of release and will continue until the client's readjustment is assured or his failure has been definitely established. Casework in this experimental probationary setting will consist mainly of four functions: planning, social intervention, training, and community interpretation.

Planning: Once a client is assigned, his officer will compile a comprehensive case record giving special attention to school, work, and leisure-time patterns as well as to family relationships. As soon as institutional officials declare the youngster adapted to incarceration, the officer will begin to develop a plan for his reintegration, aided by a committee consisting of appropriate institutional and neighborhood personnel. The inmate and his parents or guardians will be consistently consulted and involved in this process. The committee will deal with the desirability of work or school release, the type of educational and employment training required by the youth, the most suitable residential facilities for him after release, and the ways in which he can be assisted in re-establishing associations with conforming peers and adults when he leaves the institution. Once agreement is reached, the officer will assume responsibility for implementation of the plan. Whenever changes or adaptations of the scheme are necessary, they will be handled through the original planning committee.

Social intervention: The officer will represent or intervene in behalf of his client with persons who command access to resources vital to conformity. Using the reintegration plan as a guide, he will establish contact with school, employment, and settlement personnel as well as with parents; solicit their interest in the youth; and prepare them to assume a positive role in his post-institutional adjustment. As reintegration progresses, the officer will continue to induce additional persons to assist the youngster. For the purpose of social intervention, all Mobilization personnel will be at the disposal of the officer.

Training: The training role will consist of efforts to enable the youth to use the opportunities provided through social intervention. In his frequent, regular contacts with the youngster throughout institutionalization and parole, the officer will perform primarily a guidance and training function. He may also supplement the therapeutic orientation of the institution if necessary.

The officer will enable the youngster to carry through his reintegration plan by providing him with simple educational, vocational, or social know-how. Special efforts will also be made to handle overly suspicious attitudes that inhibit the youngster's readjustment. Content of the session will vary from simple instruction in how to conduct oneself in a job interview, fill out an application for employment, or organize study procedures to clarifying the problems facing a released offender in the outside world. If the youngster is planning to acquire a delivery job, he will be taught how to read city maps and directories. If his work involves small money transactions, he will be shown how to make change and keep financial records. In some cases youngsters may be enabled by the individual efforts of the probation officer to enter the Urban Youth Service Corps or to make use of other employment resources of Mobilization for Youth. The training sessions will also serve to alert the officer to the difficulties encountered by the client.

Community interpretation: In a general sense, the officer will serve as interpreter of the problems of institutional returnees, thereby mitigating some of the effects of stigmatization. Through channels provided by Mobilization and LENA, he will convey to key neighborhood organizations and associations, as well as to the general public, an understanding of the plight of the ex-inmate. He will seek their cooperation in easing the returnee's path to conformity. In particular, he will try to enlist the support of school personnel and employers. By gaining the help of settlement workers, who are already experienced in these functions, he will facilitate his client's participation in social and community activities with conventional youngsters. In these ways a youngster will come to be defined by others and by himself as an "acceptable member of the community." As probation officers, the staff of this experimental unit do, however, have a responsibility for the protection and welfare of the community. If an inmate persists in deviant behavior despite probationary assistance, the officers will take the necessary legal steps to curb socially destructive behavior.

Experimental Narcotics Programs

Specialized Services to Addicts

Preliminary research and investigation suggest that drug addiction is one of the most serious forms of deviant behavior on the Lower East Side, if not the most serious. According to Police Department records, there are today more than 23,000 drug addicts in New York City. In the year 1959, of approximately 500 addicts admitted to Riverside Hospital, 43 were from the Lower East Side. In the decade of the 1950's, of 1,076 deaths diagnosed as due to an overdose of narcotics, 57 had been residents of lower Manhattan. During the last two years the Lower East Side Information and Service Center for Narcotics Addiction, Inc., which is open only 10 hours a week at most, has interviewed 145 drug addicts from the Lower East Side. These statistics bear out the contention that the problem of drug addiction is acute in the Lower East Side, as it is elsewhere in New York City.

Drug addiction is one of the most obvious examples of retreat from social and emotional problems. Although it is basically the result of psychological disorder, it often emerges under the pressures of unemployment, discrimination, family troubles, and the impersonality of urban society.[8] These are difficult problems for the normal person; for a person who is psychologically prone to addictive drug use they may be insurmountable. It is the purpose of this proposal to demonstrate that a dual focus on the social and underlying emotional problems of the addict will facilitate his reintegration into the community. Concentrated therapeutic attacks on his employment and family problems are essential aspects of the program.

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8. Isidor Chein and Eva Rosenfeld, "Juvenile Narcotics Use," Law and Contemporary Problems, Vol. 22, No. 1 (1957).

In recent years, local, state, and federal agencies have begun to approach the drug addict with increasing understanding of his complex problems. However, except for hospital beds and minimal institutional aftercare, there are very limited resources available to the local community. On the Lower East Side, the only institution expressly established to provide outpatient services for the addict and his family is the Lower East Side Information and Service Center for Narcotics Addiction, Inc. Begun as a demonstration program by LENA, it has enlisted the resources of neighborhood agencies and churches in an effort to supply needed services. The dissemination of information about detoxification facilities, community education and work with the family unit have been the three foci of the Center's program.

Experience indicates that addicts make the most progress when the whole family constellation is involved in a treatment program. The literature on drug addiction also emphasizes the need for involvement of the addict's family in his treatment.[9] It is proposed, therefore, to establish, under the auspices of the Lower East Side Information and Service Center for Narcotics Addiction, Inc., a pilot demonstration project which will work with 50 randomly selected teen-age and young adult addicts residing in an area yet to be defined. The program will provide community based psychiatric and social services for the addict and his family. The detoxification services of Manhattan General Hospital, which are city-supported, will be used. The hospital has about 90 beds available for addicts but provides no aftercare service.

A team of six experienced social workers and a supervisor will be responsible for supplying the addicts with supporting services from the time of their admission to the project. It is imperative that there be a continuity of contact between addict and worker, and each worker will have a smaller than usual caseload.

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[9] Percy Mason, "The Mother of an Addict," Psychiatric Quarterly Supplement, Part 2, Utica, New York: State Hospital Press, 1958.

Services to addicts may include activities in the following areas:

1. Reception and Intake
2. Hospital referral and detoxification from narcotics
3. Specialized medical and dental care
4. Psychotherapy
5. Family involvement and strengthening
6. After-care following incarceration
7. Economic assistance including housing as needed
8. Job counselling and job finding
9. Educational and vocational guidance
10. Social programming for leisure time and recreation
11. Police, courts and probation follow-up

The drama of rehabilitation will be played out fundamentally in the family and vocational life of the addict under treatment. Addicts who are capable of working will be referred for job placement to the Vocational programs of Mobilization for Youth. Counseling by the caseworker will precede placement. A sheltered workshop (see below) is also proposed for addicts who are unable to face a competitive job situation. The same caseworker will deal with all the family and institutional representatives who enter the life of the addict.[10] In order to perform these many functions, the caseworkers will need to possess skills in group work as well as in casework and will require the occasional services of an interdisciplinary team of specialists.

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[10] Report of the State of New York Joint Legislative Committee on Narcotics Study, Legislative Document, No. 7, 1959.

A part-time psychiatrist will serve as medical director of the project. He will screen and diagnose addicts, as well as provide consultative help to other staff. A part-time psychologist will provide psychological testing and clinical consultations. A public health nurse will serve as liaison with the Health Department, provide nursing service for medical problems, and supervise outpatient detoxification. A physician will provide medical service for health problems secondary to the addiction and be responsible for outpatient detoxification. The project director will spend one fourth of his time working with the present program of the Lower East Side Information and Service Center for Narcotics Addiction, Inc., and the remaining three fourths with this project.

Although the addict's interaction with his family will be a constant focus in the treatment, there may be times when it is not therapeutically advisable for him to be living at home. A halfway house may be needed in which to maintain the addict during such periods.

A voluntary agency is attempting to finance a similar project using a control group of 50 addicts, randomly chosen. The tentative plan is to make available to the control group the same battery of services plus an intensive medical program involving the controlled use of sustaining doses of drugs.

Sheltered Workshop

Professionals experienced in working with drug users -- psychiatrists, sociologists, clergymen, social group workers, and others -- have indicated the need for a sheltered workshop for addicts. A sheltered workshop can provide an opportunity to test the value of work in the resocialization of addicted youth. It may also provide an opportunity for such youth to learn elementary skills and work habits which may be useful to them in later years. A specific proposal for a sheltered workshop for narcotics addicts will by detailed in a subsequent submission.

Other Services to Individuals and Families

Services to individuals and families will not, of course, be limited to the programs outlined in this discussion. Indeed, there is no Mobilization program which will not give attention to individual functioning. We have asserted the importance of giving individualized assistance to persons who might otherwise not use available resources effectively. The advantage of closely integrating such help within the structure of each service is obvious. Thus group workers and work-experience counselors will need the time, training, and sensitivity to focus upon mitigating the personal difficulties of participants as these affect their use of the program. Guidance people will serve this function in the public schools.

Individuals with behavioral difficulties too severe for such treatment will be referred for casework and psychiatric services. Caseworkers will therefore need to have a knowledge of the full gamut of community programs. For example, if a youngster is unable to use the Youth Corps experience meaningfully, he may be seen by a worker at a Neighborhood Service Center. In order to understand the youngster's reactions and help him to renounce the behavior that prevents his effective participation, the worker will need to be familiar with the activities and peer-group demands of the Corps. This is particularly important since the focus of the contact will be the boy's effective utilization of the Corps experience.

Caseworkers will aid and advise other professionals as well. For example, teachers making home visits will be accompanied initially by social caseworkers who are skilled in interviewing and accustomed to entering the homes of strangers. As a parent shares his problems in the course of the interview, the worker may be able to direct him to other appropriate community programs.

LENA's efforts in the Lower East Side and the multi-faceted nature of the Mobilization program permit close coordination of programs and specialties throughout the area. The aim of integrating specialized services to individuals with other community resources may thus be served.

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Appendix A - 5

SPECIALIZED SERVICES TO GROUPS

Mobilization for Youth

Group-service and recreational programs, like programs in the fields of work and education, help to expand opportunities for conformity and to increase the ability of young people to exploit these resources. For example, although the public school is the central educational institution for all youngsters, the agencies of informal learning — e.g., settlements, boys' clubs — also provide rich learning experiences. They make more apparent to young people the vocational and training resources which are available and in some cases provide "connections." By helping members to develop interpersonal skills, through both group activity and individual counseling, they prepare them to take advantage of what opportunities arise. They serve as mediators, representing their clientele with the schools, courts, and other institutions. They work closely with adults to increase their potential as learning models and in other ways help parents to prepare their youngsters for the worlds of work and school.

Indeed, group-service and recreational programs have a special contribution to make in fulfilling these functions, for they are often the only services that can attract the voluntary participation of the already deviant youngster. Apart from protective services, group programs of a predominantly recreational nature are the only ones in which the conventional world makes significant contact with the older delinquent. Their teaching, "connection," and mediating functions are therefore crucial.

Most directly, however, these programs contribute by helping to manage the consequences of residual pressures for deviance. Informal learning institutions and group-service activities are in a unique position to emphasize the positive features in the youngsters' lives and provide alternate satisfactions to deviant behavior, such as participation in artistic, musical, dance, sports, and other leisure time activities meaningfully related to the lower-class style of life. They can give youngsters an opportunity to express grievances and a channel for collective social action. Finally, they can help in restricting certain types of deviant behavior.

The greater flexibility of the less formal institutions of learning and their traditional concern with social ills make them useful spearheads for collective social action. Programs in which youngsters learn to come to grips with issues that affect their lives and develop skills in collective efforts to act upon these issues should be emphasized. Persuading slum youth to join in efforts to expand legitimate opportunities for all people in their social category is a difficult task because of the alienation of the youngsters and the relationship of the institution to other interest groups. Group programs so oriented can nevertheless be developed.

The effectiveness of group programs in restricting various types of deviant behavior stems from their ability to reach deviant youth. The detached worker who does not "rat" on his gang is nonetheless an agent of control. He increases the boy's perception of the consequences of delinquent activity. He revises definitions of explosive situations and mediates disputes.

There is, of course, a risk that repressing warrior groups alone may help to convert the "bopper" to drug addiction. The detached worker can, however, counteract this tendency by making a distinction between destructive behavior and boisterous activity. More important, he can help the "bopper" make the transition to adulthood by helping him to use available resources and by providing "on the streets" services, such as vocational counseling.

The organization of group services reflects the style and needs of lower-class youth to a greater degree than does the organization of more formal, non-voluntary institutions or of the other social services. Specialized services to groups, such as detached street work or pre-adolescent club programs, are by nature informal and therefore amenable to change, whether the program is settlement-based or organized centrally and located "on the streets." Those who offer services cannot totally control the social climate in which it is given. Since organized recreation is not so basic to human needs as are some of the other social services, the recipient need not be so dependent upon the conferring agency. The slum youth has more freedom to "take it or leave it" than the welfare client and therefore has a better chance of shaping the service.

An agency's program offerings and its rules and procedures do affect the selection of its clientele, however. Programs which feature the "folksy" style of another day, for example, are not likely to attract the youngsters who must be reached by a delinquency-prevention program. In addition, the fact that the informal education agency serves a wide range of age groups makes it less attractive as a hang out for older adolescents, since it cannot be "theirs" in the sense that a restricted service is.

Unless the group programs are in keeping with contemporary lower-class youth style, they cannot provide alternate satisfactions to deviant behavior. If the supervising adult is a "square," he will, at best, be unable to maintain effective communication and, at worst, be bedeviled by marked hostility. Youngsters may attend an agency to play ball and thus help to shape its "atmosphere." This will not, however, ensure a program which is adventuresome or which has significance to the participants. A program for lower-class youth may also be made ineffective by the bureaucratization of service-giving -- for example, by "the flight from the client" of the most highly regarded workers, who quickly ascend the bureaucratic ladder -- and by a tendency to emphasize process and ignore content.

Group programs serve many socially useful functions which extend beyond the prevention and control of juvenile misbehavior. We have, however, emphasized those objectives which are most directly relevant to delinquency prevention and which cannot be met by any other type of program or institution. Services must of course be structured so as to attract youngsters who are delinquent, or predisposed to delinquency, and to ensure their meaningful participation. The major objectives of the Mobilization program of services to groups, then, are the following:

1. To provide activities that emphasize the positive features in youngsters' lives and thus offer alternate satisfactions to deviant behavior.
2. To provide channels for the expression of grievance and collective social action and to encourage their use.
3. To channel deviant behavior into less harmful forms and to provide conforming alternatives.

The Coffee Shops

The "Coffee Shop" project is a plan to set up, within the Mobilization area, three storefront cultural centers, each having the appearance of a coffee house. The project is designed to provide an experince for lower-class boys and girls, aged 16 to 21, that will compete with existing deviant forms of behavior. It introduces facilities and programs that are responsive to their style of life and thus makes available an alternative to illegitimate patterns.

Each coffee shop will have a distinctive artistic or cultural motif. An Arts Center, devoted to Negro and Puerto Rican art and culture, might sponsor a drum and dance troupe comprised of local youth. Specialists will provide training in these arts. A Folk Jazz Center will be a second shop, for instruction in and the sponsorship of indigenous folk jazz groups (i.e., rock and roll quartets), containing a glass-enclosed studio for the cutting of records. A third shop, "The Gallery," will provide a showcase for the work of youthful artists, writers, and sculptors. Members may be asked to design the placards, ornaments, and brochures required by the other coffee shops and programs of Mobilization. An artists' corps might be formed to paint murals in local institutions, and a young writers' group might publish a local youth magazine.

The coffee shops will be basically social-cultural centers, where members can drop in casually to listen to music, play chess and checkers, and pursue other special interests. Simple refreshments will be provided,[1] at reasonable rates. Performances by professional entertainers or neighborhood talent, exhibitions, and socials will be planned frequently, to reduce operating costs. On weekends and other special occasions, the shops will, in effect, become night clubs.

The project will utilize the constructive skills, strengths, and interests of adolescents, while setting controls on hostile, anti-social behavior. Members of the Urban Youth Service Corps will help to construct the coffee shops. Neighborhood adolescents with healthy potential and "rep" will assist in the planning, decoration, and management. A young adult from the area will be in charge of the commercial operations, and local adolescents will be employed as waiters and custodians. Thus the shops will be a cooperative undertaking.

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[1] The drinking of alcohol will be prohibited. Youth aged 18 or older, and legally permitted to drink, have had especial difficulty accepting the ban on alcohol in most community centers. The coffee-shop format mitigates this problem, since it will be known that no coffee shop in the City is allowed to serve or permit the drinking of alcohol.

The project by its very nature will emphasize "creation" rather than "conflict" aspects of adolescent life; the focus is on the cooperative building and maintenance of a social facility. The project will also help in the development of indigenous leadership in the community. Natural leaders will form an adolescent managerial group to control and plan operations. By taking on legitimate and prestigious roles, they will demonstrate constructive leadership for the youth membership and the adult community.

As the coffee shops become a more accepted and established institution, their services and purposes will expand to encompass qualities of a referral center to resources needed by adolescents. In the natural setting of the youth, professional staff, acting as "informed bartenders," can offer on-the-spot guidance and referral to youngsters in need of educational, vocational, or psychiatric assistance.

Finally, the coffee shops will offer special resources for training youngsters with talents and interests in various cultural and artistic areas.

Facilities

The plan envisions three coffee shops distributed throughout the Mobilization area. Each shop will be a redecorated tenement storefront. Renovation will include construction of one room, large enough to accommodate tables and chairs for 100 persons, with a refreshment counter, portable stage, and background sound system for music. Where feasible, a second room will be constructed, containing facilities for cultural-arts development (e.g., equipment and supplies for informal art work, rock-and-roll recording, bongo and steel drum bands, etc.).

It is of crucial importance that the shop provide a comfortable, relaxed, casual atmosphere; that it be "cool and conservative"; that it offer freedom for expression of a life style that reflects lower-class youth (i.e., rock and roll, jazz sounds, murals, color combinations, space, style, dress, that blend with the adolescent milieu). Older managerial youth, who are characterized by less "acting out" and who have "gone social," will contribute to the "cool and conservative" qualities desirable.

Membership

Each shop will have two classes of members. "General" members will use the evening social-recreational facilities of the center. "Key" members will be youth having talent or marked interest in the activity in which one of the shops specializes. They will participate in the talent workshops, which will be held primarily in the afternoons and which will operate on a strict "no nonsense" basis. A limited number of key memberships will be made available to exceptionally talented youth residing outside the Mobilization area.

We anticipate that a key member's interests will be avocational. Although his participation in the programs of his coffee shop might become the most absorbing part of his life, the average key member will be working or in school. A minority of the members will probably evince a vocational interest in an artistic endeavor. For the few among them who are genuinely talented, this might be encouraged, and scholarships to appropriate schools sought.

Since the activities of the various shops will call for a wide variety of talents, almost any youth whose interest is genuine will be able to qualify for key membership in the shop of his choice. For example, a youth attracted to the Folk Jazz Center who cannot sing well enough to join any of the quartets might be taught to operate the recording machine.

General members will be the majority of youth, who lack the inclination or talent to qualify for key membership. To those who are content to be "in the know," the shop perhaps will come to be regarded as "a hip place to hang out," a sophisticated but inexpensive setting for a Saturday-night date.

Staff

The Director of the Coffee House project will be experienced in community organization, administration, and group work. He will be responsible for the over-all supervision, coordination, and administration of the various centers. A Resident Director will be a professional social group worker in charge of each shop. He will supervise house staff and program. A PART-TIME GROUP WORKER will be employed as assistant to the resident director. A RESIDENT ARTIST will be hired -- a person competent to coach or give instruction in specific arts. In addition, visiting artists will be encouraged to participate on a volunteer basis. Key members who desire to continue in the program after the age of 21 might qualify as visiting artists. The MANAGER will be a responsible indigenous young adult in charge of the commercial operation of the coffee shop.

Adolescent Management

Six "natural" leaders of youth within the area will be employed as part-time paid staff members in each shop. This managerial unit will be selected prior to the construction of the shop. The intention is to form an integrated status group, fusing it via the process of planning, sharing ideas, assisting in construction of the project. During the planning phase, project staff will work closely with the managerial group, holding frequent orientation-training meetings to counsel the leaders on social-recreational programs and give them the practical work experience in painting, carpentry, etc., needed in the shop. In the operating stage, the managerial group will have such varied functions as instituting social controls and acting as symbols for the reduction of deviant norms within their peer group as well as handling the preparation and sale of food and beverages and supervising other administrative matters.

Basic Assumptions

A new facility: Older adolescents growing up in deprived areas offer resistance to traditional organizational facilities and programs. Intent on maintaining their self-defined norms of behavior, they cling to attitudes toward adult figures that are fraught with suspicion, distrust, apathy, and hostility. One factor in breaching this gap is the introduction of a tangible, visible, new, attractive facility symbolic of the style and mood of the youth themselves. It is there for them to plan, create, and use. It is "jazzy," "cool," and "concrete." It supports their constructive qualities and skills in an identifiable way; yet its very structure necessitates planning, control, and a comfortable atmosphere and thus exerts pressure for the incorporation of socially desirable norms.

Just as we are concerned with the elimination of destructive behavior, we also recognize that within lower-class groups there are expressive traits that are both meaningful and of worth to the adolescent. It is crucial in the development of a workable facility that we support the expression of socially acceptable interests and norms inherent in adolescent life.

For example, styles of dress and enthusiasm for musical forms and instruments are satisfying, healthy components of the culture. Furthermore, although, as Margolis notes, "we regard [the] behavior [of delinquent groups] as senseless, pointless, unprovoked, inexplicable... there is among them as much seriousness, devotion to imagined duties, sense of honor and trust and cooperation (however perverse), even heroism and self-sacrifice, industry, incentive and reward, foresight and planning as can be found in any legitimate group endeavor. There is among them moreover, an impressive enthusiasm, esprit, solidarity and even pride that would be genuinely hard to duplicate."[2] The Coffee Shop project is designed to encourage many of these traits.

Utilization of indigenous leadership: We need to learn and use the machinery that exists in the youth culture in transmitting our knowledge and influence. Teen-agers are more responsive to pressures for conformity and change originating in their peer group than to adult controls. We therefore need to be sensitive to how and by whom information, attitudes, and actions are transmitted and who the individuals are who play key roles in deciding on group behavior.

Professional staff will first seek out and identify the leaders in the adolescent community. It will be necessary to detect and develop relationships with those older adolescents who possess constructive, healthy potential as well as respect, "rep," and influence with their peers. These youngsters employed in managerial capacities will be a major resource for project staff in setting up a type of facility that will have real appeal to the adolescent population. They will possess the knowledge and "feel" that adult staff need for the operation.

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[2] Joseph Margolis, "Juvenile Delinquents: Latter-Day Knights," The American Scholar, Spring 1960, p. 212.

Will these leaders lose their influence with their peers by entering into a new identification with each other and the project? Katz and Lazarfeld suggest, "If group activities are constantly elaborated, and their situations constantly changed, then it follows that leadership should be a highly unstable phenomenon. Yet we know intuitively that leadership of stable groups tend to be quite stable. ...The reason that leadership does not change each time a group elaborates or changes its pattern of activity is that leaders tend to control the selection of new activities. Thus, if a gang decides to switch from bowling to some other sport, the leader is more likely than anyone else to influence the new selection -- and, of course, he will choose a sport in which he excels. Only when the leader cannot direct the change will the leader's role be threatened."[3]

It is evident that we must stress intensive preparatory work in the selection and recruitment of indigenous leadership and continuous watchfulness in order to avoid conflict between individuals or groups. The program does have potential seeds of discontent in the social setting and atmosphere and the sex, ethnic, racial, and religious differences within the membership. Prior to the project, group workers will seek to gain the confidence and respect necessary for helping to prepare youth to move successfully into the coffee shops. Project staff responsible for supervision of the facility will also exercise influence and control on acting-out behavior. Also, as previously indicated, the managerial group will be instrumental as a peer source of authority. Lastly, we expect the membership itself to develop self-control as a result of its favorable identification with and interest

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3. Elihu Katz and Paul F. Lazarfeld, Personal Influence, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1955, p. 121.

in the successful, continuous operation of the project.

The creative emphasis: In working with delinquent groups, emphasis is generally placed upon the professional worker in interaction with a single, defined gang. Street workers generally tend to focus on the deviant, antisocial actions of the group. Their basic purpose is to restrain destructive acts, to prevent trouble.

The Coffee Shop project, by its very definition, does not focus primarily on work with a single group. Secondly, it does not basically concern itself with conflict behavior. Recognition is given to what the youth can create rather than exclusively to the destructive behavior we perceive. They do not meet with adult professionals in councils to work out intergroup "peace pacts." Emphasis is on recognizing their common talents, interests, styles of life, as they plan for a new facility. Creation by a new unit rather than deviance by existing groups becomes the primary ingredient of staff-manager-membership relationships.

Potentialities for referral and self-help: In the more advanced stages of operation, the project has enormous potentiality for direct interpretation of resources for youth. To bring adolescents to the point where they will consider and utilize community resources has been a dilemma for all youth-serving agencies. The "natural" physical setting of the coffee shop -- within the neighborhood, on the block — can yield new channels. The professional supervisory staff are available to introduce problem-solving resources in an informal, direct manner. Also, city-wide specialists in various social-service fields can "drop in" to a place which is comfortable to the youth and offer help then and there.

Since the Coffee Shop project is, by definition, an indigenous unit, not attached to or existing in any social-agency setting, and since its managing group is recruited from the membership, it allows for greater flexibility in atmosphere, rules and regulations, hours of operation, etc. Adolescents have greater opportunity to implement change and development of the project than in settings where traditions, multiple services, and larger and more diverse clientele are factors.

The establishment of a number of coffee shops throughout the project area will heighten the potentiality for success of each individual shop, for the shops can exchange ideas, programs, and solutions to common problems. Competition between groups and their facilities might prove constructive. Most significantly, the multiplication of facilities greatly increases opportunities for effecting change in deviant aspects of the community youth culture.

Detached-Worker Project

In recent years, there has been increasing recognition of the group nature of lower-class delinquency. Traditional group-serving agencies (e.g., settlement houses, school centers, boys' clubs) have found it difficult to deal effectively with delinquent gangs within the existing programs, which are basically geared to the needs and styles of less destructive adolescents. The result has been the development of detached-worker, or street-corner, projects. At present the New York City Youth Board has a team of nine workers in the Mobilization area. Voluntary agencies have also experimented with detached-worker programs, utilizing their institutions as a base of operations — for example, the "Operation Streetcorner" program of the Educational Alliance, as well as the work of Henry Street Settlement and the Lower Eastside Mission of Trinity Parrish.

The detached worker "reaches out" to delinquent street-corner groups on their home grounds, be they the school playground, the local pool hall, or the streets. This "stranger" begins to hang out where the youth are, making himself known by patient, non-threatening contacts. His aim is to gain their trust and confidence so that his role can shift from that of an outsider to that of a helpful adult friend and resource.

Detached-worker programs attempt to reduce antisocial "bopping" behavior among gang youth by various means. The intervention of a trusted adult who advises caution, settles disputes, and provides face-saving alternatives undoubtedly does result in the diminution of conflict behavior. Increased "rep" — status as tough guys — accrues to members of gangs which have a worker assigned to them, and this too may lessen their need for "bopping". However, to bring about a change in the basic values or behavior of gang members, a number of other approaches have been attempted. One emphasizes the street worker's personal relationship with individual youngsters. Through deep personal ties, the worker attempts to convince the youth to relinquish delinquent activities. If the delinquent responds to and identifies with the worker, it is hoped that he then will begin to strive for the conventional, socially acceptable goals that the worker represents and gradually abandon his ties to the deviant peer-group values.

Another approach attempts to redirect the group's energies and interests into socially acceptable types of leisure-time activity. The worker gradually persuades the group to plan recreational and social events which offer satisfaction and recognition without illegitimate or conflict behaviors. Thus "rep" is achieved by running a local dance rather than by trying to take over another gang's "turf"; the gang undertakes a weekend camping trip rather than a series of drinking parties, muggings, and boppings. The worker might help a delinquent group that fears to compete in sports events to develop enough self-confidence and skill to risk entering a community basketball tournament. Once the group is able to participate in legitimate forms of expression, it may begin to be receptive to the community agencies and their value systems.

Although these two approaches have merit, we feel that an effective detached-worker project requires the use of the worker as a "channel" relating the street gang to the major institutional orders that impinge upon it. Thus the worker becomes a social bridge between the group and the school authorities, potential employers, the courts, the police, etc. In aspiring to bring the delinquent into the mainstream of conventional society, the worker attempts to make available tangible educational and vocational opportunities which the youngster has felt are unattainable and which are vital to conventional adjustment. Thus, the detached-worker project will coordinate its efforts closely with the Youth Jobs Center, the Neighborhood Service Centers, the Urban Youth Service Corps, and agency personnel in the schools and juvenile courts. Specific skills and knowledge in the job-training area will be particularly important for 16- to 18-year-old school dropouts with little or no expectations in the adult world. In effect we are attempting to link gang members to someone who is in turn linked to the resources and institutions of conventional society in order to reduce the isolation and feeling of futility of these youth.

Although the detached-worker project cannot offer direct solutions for the youngster who is drug addicted other than to refer him to existing psychiatric and medical settings, it may have influence upon gang youth who are at the stage of experimenting with drugs but are not yet "hooked." Needless to say, no one has comprehensive answers to the narcotics problem. The street worker, with his ability to make meaningful contacts with the delinquent gang, can, however, attempt to intercede and affect group attitudes in situations where addiction is not yet prevelant. It might be effective to accent the weakness, cowardice, and "sucker" attitudes of those who get caught up with the habit. By serving as a bridge to tangible enabling resources, the street worker may also be able to counteract the potential addict's disillusionment with society and his sense of personal futility and self-deprivation.

An encompassing detached-worker program for the Mobilization area is being developed. It will be detailed in a subsequent submission.

The Adventure Corps

Indications are that a great majority of youngsters in pre-delinquent groups can be steered away from developing full-blown patterns of antisocial behavior. Important as it is to rehabilitate teen-age gangs, it is perhaps more important to prevent the formation of the gangs by introducing an alternative path for potentially delinquent younger boys, aged nine to 13 years.

Community agencies with adequate recreational and social group-work programs generally do not have difficulty recruiting pre-adolescent youth. Members of this age group enjoy and indulge in existing recreational programs quite naturally and enthusiastically, while older adolescents, more entrenched in delinquent patterns, tend to be more distrustful and hostile. Potentially deviant pre-adolescents have not as yet so deeply internalized delinquent behavior patterns. At this developmental stage, their values are generally more deviant than their behavior; they still have a dependence on and response to the conventional adult world. The challenge, then, is not to find means of attracting these boys but, rather, to develop a program that can change their deviant patterns of behavior.

A primary objective of the Adventure Corps is to develop a lower-class youth culture to compete successfully with the delinquent subculture. To accomplish this task, the Adventure Corps will introduce a program that gives recognition to such expressive qualities of lower-class youth as "heart" and provides adventure, discipline, and action within a formal organizational structure with rank and reward. Utilizing a "para-military" form, it introduces program content responsive to the desires of the youth and to the social problems of the community. Lest the Corps tend to be too militaristic in its functioning, the criteria for program content and award recognition are based on the quality of social, educational, and cultural participation.

The Corps will have to be highly attractive to encourage deviance-prone pre-adolescents to reach out for socially approved goals and to instill the belief that legitimate norms are more desirable than delinquent patterns. Kobrin indicates that lower-class youngsters initially participate in both conventional and criminal value systems, eventually moving in one of these directions.[4] The Corps offers a channel through which boys can relate constructively to their community. Through the use of group competition, incentives, and rewards, the Corps will introduce pressures for group controls on antisocial behavior and inducements for various forms of learning. As we have noted, the Adventure Corps will be basically oriented, not toward middle-class styles of action and goals, but, rather, toward the life styles of lower-class youth. The project will have qualities attractive to lower-class youth, such as a high degree of visibility (via its para-military form); novelty; adventure; status among peers and support by the influential adult figures in the community and city; opportunities for earning money, taking trips, broadening horizons of learning and recreation; achievement — immediate gratifications, readily available success goals.

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[4] Solomon Kobrin, "Conflict of Values in Delinquent Areas," American Sociological Review, Vol. 16, No. 5 (Oct. 1951), pp. 653-62.

The Corps has the further objective of improving communication between the youth and adults in the community and thus reducing the alienation of youth from family figures. The Corps will introduce specific structures and roles for parents, in recognition of the strengths and skills that lower-class adults can offer to their children. The project is also designed to increase mutually respectful interaction between the youth population and the influential adult models in the community (e.g., police, school teachers, social workers, clergy, store owners, etc.). Opportunities will be made available for youth to gain the respect and cooperation of the adult community through their Corps projects.

Finally, the Corps will concern itself with improving youth's educational and vocational aspirations and preparations. Youngsters at this formative age are developing patterns for learning (or not learning), vocational expectations (or non-expectations), cultural-group self-identification (or self-rejection), which will be highly influential in later adolescent years, when future choices are determined. As an integral part of its "required curriculum," the Corps will reward informal educational achievements, offer opportunities for vocational learning and money earning, and introduce activities heightening constructive cultural identification, racial-religious integration, and understanding of social problems.

The Structure

The project will be "para-military" in form, while introducing a content in keeping with the social and educational goals of youth-serving agencies. Members of the Corps will be organized in "squads" of 20-25 boys, with six to seven squads to a "division." Two divisions of approximately 150 youth each will be created. Activities will be coordinated by a Central Corps "headquarters," consisting of professional staff and older, trained adolescents. A committee composed of the contracting agencies participating in the project will provide over-all direction and guidance to the Corps.

Each division will have a "uniform" or jacket identifying the unit and its representation in the Corps. Each squad will have its own symbol, name, and badge of identity.

A curriculum guide will be devised for each squad, defining projects and grades of achievement. Within each squad, there will be youth holding leadership rank because of their performance and ability in the Corps programs. Squads will also receive "credit" for contributions to the Corps program. Outstanding performances by individuals and squads will yield promotions, citations, opportunities for special activities, and the like.

This structure will give strong encouragement to esprit de corps within each squad. Through formal and informal recognition of constructive actions, the project will affect group norms. Competition within and between squads as members strive for individual and group advancement will result in internal pressure for conformity. Members of the Corps would risk personal and squad penalties — formal and informal — if they resorted to truancy, vandalism, use of narcotics, or other delinquent actions. In order to avoid "failures," a range of programs will be made available that will permit each youngster to do well and gain recognition.

The "Curriculum"

In order to affect group norms of behavior, the Adventure Corps will combine inherently attractive activities and a system of incentives for individuals and groups. Drawing upon the style of the Boy Scout movement, the Corps will specifically define projects, grades of achievement, and program learnings in which members of each squad will be expected to engage. It is crucial that "curriculum" requirements be sources of real meaning and satisfaction to the youth. For example, a squad curriculum might include the following activities:

1. Sponsoring a movie on narcotics for the entire division.
2. Planning an overnight camping trip.
3. Receiving tutoring help in weak subjects.
4. Taking a trip to a museum.
5. Playing in the Corps baseball tournament.
6. Participating in a "march" in support of a community need.
7. Organizing a family picnic.

8. Cleaning up an empty lot to use as a recreational area for young children.

9. Operating a booth at a neighborhood fund-raising carnival.

10. Forming a judo group.

The Adventure Corps will offer tangible recognition for successful completion of these activities, considering both the quantity of constructive activities participated in and the quality of the performance. Intersquad rivalry to induce desired participation will be encouraged. We have built into the Corps program opportunities to participate in projects that are enjoyable and socially valuable. The chief inducement to engage in these activities is the pleasure of participation. Motivation to participate also stems from the status formally granted to achievement.

Precaution must be taken so that we do not lose the most needy youth in our membership. This means making success opportunities available to every child. In attempting to discourage a youngster's movement toward antisocial behavior (a sign of his feeling of "failure"), we shall be careful not to set up difficult expectations that would result in his "flunking out" of the Corps as in other areas of life. Programs that he does well in and can gain recognition from will be made available (e.g., marching, boxing, camping, etc.). Support thus given can compete with the pressures for succumbing to delinquent acts. Conceivably, even "inferior" or "bad" boys can have the opportunity to obtain leadership rank through their sources of strength and skill.

The program activities themselves can be classified as physical, recreational, educational-cultural, and vocational-fund raising.

Within each squad and division, emphasis will be given to motor activities — athletics and physical fitness (boxing, judo, weight lifting, basketball, baseball), camping (hiking, overnight trips), marching (drum and bugle corps, honor guards, drill teams) and to craft, art, and music projects (woodworking, ceramics, sketching, painting, training with bongo or steel drums, jazz, and rock and roll groups).

Educational and cultural activities will include a tutoring service (squad leaders, older adolescents, college volunteers, and parents will be used with "difficult" subjects); narcotics education, including movies, hospital trips, etc.; programs to encourage cultural identification; community-improvement projects (e.g., youth marches for such neighborhood needs as hospitals, recreation facilities; block "clean-up" campaigns; campaigns against discriminatory practices); and trips to museums, theatres, festivals.

Vocational training and fund-raising activities will be provided by a "Young Workman's Corps," in which youth can earn spending money by answering neighborhood calls for simple labor (e.g., messenger services, small paint jobs, distribution of publicity, car cleaning). Trips to vocational training centers (auto shops, electronics laboratories, music and dance studios, baker schools) will help youth to form more accurate conceptions of the nature and requirements of semi-skilled, skilled, and professional occupations. Divisional or squad sponsorship of community carnivals, family picnics, and the sale of "homemade" craft items will raise funds to help support additional Corps activities.

Utilization of Parents

Adults can make a very real, concrete contribution to youngsters' success in the Corps by offering their knowledge or tangible assistance with mechanical projects, driving on trips, painting, sewing, and the like. Parents can serve, too, as a volunteer source of leadership. Both the parent and child benefit from the adult's having opportunities to be a constructive role model for his son. The project thus can create family "bridges." The youngster at this age needs but frequently lacks respect for and identification with the parent figure. In deprived lower-class homes, however, parents have much difficulty understanding and adjusting to the role of "successful parent model." The Adventure Corps could attempt to devise means of helping parents undertake this role.

A parents' advisory group will be formed for each division, which will offer suggestions and assistance to the various facets of the Corps program. Youngsters' participation in community improvement projects, where such activity has elements of controversy, will be referred to parents for decision.

Facilities and Staff

The Adventure Corps will seek the cooperation of existing institutions within the project area. The youth-serving agencies in the community will supply meeting rooms and recreational facilities for squad and divisional activities. The Corps also plans to rent a bus to transport youth outside the area to selected recreational and educational sites. Within each two-week period, each squad will schedule two group meetings at a community center, one bus trip, and one divisional meeting. Occasional meetings of the total unit would be held to encourage unity and esprit de corps, to facilitate interdivision exchange of information and talent, and to make possible activities requiring larger numbers for effective participation (e.g., "Olympics," movies, marches, carnivals). Other unifying aids include pre-action training meetings of all staff; the adoption of identifying uniforms, membership cards, or badges for youth; the use of a Corps bus as a facility and program aid; total Corps campout "conventions"; social-action marches; and a scale of organization and rank for groups and individuals.

Professional social group workers will have responsibility for the coordination of the project. Prior to the commencement of operations, the professional staff will undertake a series of training meetings with part-time staff, who will be in direct leadership positions within the squad and divisional structure. It is vital that the entire staff be well versed in the goals of the project and prepared in the methods, skills, and programs required for its success. The pre-action meetings will take the form of a series of orientation sessions; trips within the neighborhood; contact with parents, agencies, and other community sessions; skill sessions; and training in group work and group dynamics. Part-time leaders will be recruited from among graduate students at social-work schools, experienced group leaders, cultural art specialists, older adolescents within the community, and parent volunteers.

In-service training sessions will continue as programs get under way. Weekly individual and group conferences will be mandatory. Opportunities for exchange of ideas, problems, programs, coordination of services, administrative clearance, etc., will continually be available for the entire staff during the course of the project. Within the complexities of the organization form and program, close coordination of all levels of staff is a necessity for the successful operation of the project.

As the Adventure Corps attains prestige and popularity within the neighborhood, a similar structure might be created for young girls. An auxiliary unit responsive to the interests and problems of this age group might be most advisable.

Pre-Adolescent Project

At the tender age of seven or eight years, some children are already beginning to absorb the values, aspirations, and actions of the teen-age gang culture. Identifying with and attempting to gain recognition from older youth, they are already forming junior gangs. To many young children growing up in depressed communities, the teen-age delinquent exemplifies heroism, status, adventure, and power. The older boys encourage imitative delinquent behavior and welcome the youngsters as recruits when they become old enough. Thus the seeds of gang life are planted.

The Pre-Adolescent Project, like the Adventure Corps, is an attempt to break this repetitive, destructive gang pattern. The plan is to employ highly skilled social group workers to directly engage and constructively influence young children. Working in teams, based in community agencies, they will seek to socialize pre-delinquents so that most of them can gradually be moved into regular community-center programs. Indigenous, healthy, adolescent leadership and channels for parent participation will be utilized in attempting to shift these young children to a more positive identification with their community life.

The program will set a vigorous, adventurous pace. The life styles and needs of pre-adolescent lower-class youth will be emphasized in such activities as extended camping trips, boxing, tumbling, and judo. Artistic talents and interests in rhythm will be exploited through the formation of steel-drum bands, rock and roll workshops, and the like. Educational projects will also be provided (tutoring services, museum trips, remedial reading, narcotics education). Trips to industries and vocational training institutions will stimulate vocational planning.

Staff and Facilities

Pre-delinquent gangs can be identified in settlements and other youth-serving agencies, as well as in the streets, the schools, and housing projects. Teams of social group workers will be established at social agencies located in the gangs' own neighborhoods. One full-time and four part-time staff members will be based at each center, depending on the specific needs of the area. One female group worker will be a part of each team. Each team will be responsible for approximately nine groups of pre-delinquent youngsters aged seven to twelve. Present plans call for units of the Pre-Adolescent Project in five social agencies -- with a capacity for serving approximately 45 groups in all. The full-time member of each unit will be designated as senior worker, or "team captain," and in addition to group leadership responsibilities, will undertake supervision of staff within the team. A Mobilization project coordinator will maintain liaison with community center administrators.

The project plans to make use of the facilities of the centers where the workers are based, scheduling activities for times which will not conflict with normal program activities. The staff workers will also utilize nearby community facilities (parks, ball fields, schools, swimming pools) as well as maintain continual contact with the youngsters on their "natural grounds" -- the streets where they live and play. Frequent trips outside the Lower East Side will be planned. Youngsters will have opportunities to have a variety of new recreational, cultural and vocational experiences.

Indigenous Adolescent Leadership and Parent Participation

In order to prevent young children from idolizing, imitating, and eventually taking on the same antisocial patterns as older delinquent, we plan to assign, on a part-time basis, older neighborhood adolescents from the Urban Youth Service Corps to assist the group worker. These teen-agers will be youngsters indigenous to the neighborhood, who have lived through experiences similar to those presently affecting the younger children. The assistants will assume the role of "big brother" in competition with the teen-age delinquent for the admiration of the younger children. They will be youth who have a natural "feel" for and understanding of young children and who have outgrown their own tendencies to deviant behavior. Under the supervision of a skilled worker, and with training in group and individual problem behavior, these co-leaders can have a significant impact upon the little ones.

The group worker is in continual contact with parents of delinquents, from the first time the youngsters get into trouble with some adult authority, be it the police, a local store owner, or a truant officer. The worker is there to support and direct the family as they attempt to cope with the problem. However, we do not feel that it is enough for the worker to inter-act with the parents around conflict or crisis situations. Group meetings will be held for parent education purposes. In addition, wherever possible, the talents of the parents will be utilized to make the youngsters' experience more meaningful. Parents are a volunteer source of leadership (e.g., fathers can assist on camp week-ends, utilizing their physical, athletic, or mechanical skills; they can drive the group on trips, etc.). By making use of the talents and skills of parents we hope to strengthen family bonds and establish acceptable ways for parents to participate with their children in non-conflict areas of life.

Other Services to Groups

Programs which encourage the collective efforts of adults are noted in other sections of this report. To some degree the activity of adults in seeking reform will offer youngsters an example of a more constructive way of attacking social injustice than by deviant behavior. However, lower-class adolescents must also be heard. A member of the Mobilization group-services staff will have responsibility for the encouragement of attention to social issues among young people, the development of specific action programs for these groups, and the distribution of material aids to further their efforts. Through such group services as the Adventure Corps and the Coffee Shops, as well as the on-going teen-age activities of the settlements, attention will be drawn to these programs. A further function of the staff member will be to explore the possibility of creating an organization of lower-class adolescents with just such a focus. Although it is premature to recommend such an organization until the other teen-age programs are operative, one goal of the various proposals is the ultimate creation of a Youth Organization, composed not only of the lower-class "elite" -- youngsters on their way up and out of their class -- but also of those for whom lower-class life may be a more permanent expectation. Both the Adventure Corps and the Coffee Shops, as a matter of fact, have features intended to be especially attractive to non-striving lower-class youth. A Youth Organization which treads the thin line between adult guidance and adolescent autonomy, which gives a hearing to the largely submerged point of view of adolescents, which visibly and dramatically provides an outlet for adolescent culture and capers, can open channels for the expression of grievances and the creation of hope.

Appendix R - 1

PROGRAMS OF BASIC RESEARCH

Mobilization for Youth

In conjunction with the service phase of Mobilization for Youth, three types of research are proposed: basic research on substantive issues pertinent to the definition, distribution, origins, and content of juvenile delinquency, as well as to related matters; evaluation of the net impact of the total service program upon significant community variables, such as the rates and types of deviant behavior, the social integration of residents, their attitudes toward the community, and their sense of social well-being; and the evaluation of specific service programs, such as the Homework Helper Program or the Neighborhood Service Centers. The second and third of these general research objectives are discussed in appendix R - 2. The present appendix is devoted to a description of the basic research projects which we propose to undertake.

Four proposals for basic research are discussed here. Each of these reflects our sense of priorities for research in the field of delinquency. One deals with the critical problem of the relationship between self-reported misconduct and official rates of misconduct. It seeks to discover whether variations in this relationship can be attributed to the demographic and social structures of various urban neighborhoods. The second proposal deals with the critical problem of the social reintegration of offenders returning from institutions. It is based on the assumption that the post-release period is the most critical in the rehabilitative process, and that recidivism can be understood partly as the consequence of invidious definitions of the offender in his home community which create barriers to his reintegration.

The third proposal calls for analysis of the extensive survey data gathered during the planning phase of this project. These materials pertain to theoretical issues in the origins, distribution, and patterning of delinquent behavior. Finally, we propose to study certain hypothesized changes in the urban political machine. This study has great importance for understanding contemporary social organization in lower-class communities.

Deviance and Its Definition: A Study of Adolescent Misconduct and Official Rates of Delinquency

Data relevant for the study of juvenile delinquency fall into three categories. First is an unknown distribution of adolescents who have violated rules codified in delinquency statutes: some have been officially declared delinquent, and others have not. The second distribution is of adolescents who have been officially declared delinquent. The third is the relationship between the preceding distributions, the number of official delinquents expressed as a proportion of those who could have been so processed. We shall call this the discrepancy ratio.

We propose to analyze variations among New York City community areas in the rates or percentages of adolescents involved in misconduct, official delinquents, and the discrepancies between them in terms of the social and physical characteristics of the areas as well as certain subjective factors measured by a questionnaire. We will also analyze the characteristics of official delinquents and those who confess acts of misconduct but have not been designated as delinquent and compare both groups with the other adolescents in each of the areas. These local differences will be related to the analysis of inter-area variation. In this way we will be able to isolate the conditions which generate deviance and which account for variations in the process of defining deviant behavior as delinquent. In addition, the data will have important implications for evaluating the impact of Mobilization for Youth on its service area. (See Appendix R - 2.)

This proposal outlines a plan for obtaining, from the reports of adolescents in a sample of community areas in New York City, the rates of what we shall call "adolescent misconduct"— that is, the first distribution described above, of adolescents classified according to the deviant acts they admit having committed, whether or not the adolescents have been defined as delinquent by official agencies. From police and court records the rates of "official delinquents" among the adolescents in the sample— the second distribution— can be derived.

This proposal first discusses the significance of the information for theories of social deviance and the interpretation of official delinquency rates. It next describes in general terms the mode of analysis that will be employed if appropriate data can be assembled. The third section presents a plan for obtaining a list of 15-year-old boys residing in a sample of areas of New York City. The final section describes procedures for obtaining data from these boys from questionnaires self-administered in a school setting, explains how an official delinquency rate specific to the same youths will be obtained, and indicates other sources of information. It also outlines problems in utilizing available instruments for measuring misconduct and other variables. Our plan allows a period for the preliminary collection and analysis of data before a final judgment is made concerning the feasibility of the study.

Theoretical Issues

A crucial issue in the study of deviance is the discrepancy between the act and its social definition. In general, deviance implies the violation of a social rule: it is behavior that fails to meet the legitimate expectations of others interacting with the perpetrator in some role relationship. However, the way in which these others define this conduct determines what it is — classifies it so that others can react to it in systematic and meaningful ways. In a complex social system, there are specialized roles which impose definitions on certain kinds of behavior and so guide the responses of others. For example, physical malfunctioning which disrupts an individual's routine role relationships at work or in the family provides occasions for various types of reaction — accusations of malingering, sympathy, etc. An institutionalized function of the role of physician is to define the individual as a "sick person," thereby legitimizing his withdrawal from certain responsibilities and imposing on him and others obligations of and toward the role of "patient."[1] When the symptoms can be defined as "mental," a more inclusive system of physicians, psychologists, and court officials may enter the definitional process to determine whether or not to commit the individual to a mental hospital.

Similarly, adolescent misbehavior may encounter different treatment in various segments of a city. The same act may be defined differently depending upon the neighborhood, the characteristics of the adolescent or his family, and the person who observes it. In one neighborhood certain acts may be handled informally by relatives while others are defined in a manner that channels them to mental-hygiene clinics or school disciplinary offices. In a different social context the same kinds of misbehavior may come to the attention of police or other functionaries and result in the child's being officially defined as delinquent.

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[1] Talcott Parsons, The Social System, Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1951, Chap. 10.

A basic assumption of contemporary criminology is that the various components of a social system generate different rates of misbehavior of types that could be defined as delinquent. Theories of structural pressures generating misbehavior rest upon a hypothesis that deviants, at least the ones committing the more "serious" offenses, are found in greater proportions among urban, lower-class males.[2] Yet the hypothesis rests primarily upon inferences from the distribution of official delinquents, statistics which reflect not the actual rates of misconduct, but the adolescents who have been defined as delinquent by public officials with broad statutory discretion. These data are inadequate, in the first place, because criminal-justice agencies become aware of only a part of the misconduct over which they technically have jurisdiction, and because they take action with respect to only some of the adolescents who come to their attention. Under the delinquency statute, public officials typically have discretion to select from a wide universe those acts to be processed as delinquent:

> Children who are "incorrigible, ungovernable, or habitually truant," who desert their homes or places of abode without consent of parents or guardians, who associate "with immoral or vicious persons," frequent places "the existence of which is a violation of the law," habitually use obscene language, solicit alms in public places, or who so deport themselves as willfully to injure or endanger the morals or health of themselves or others...fall within the New York State statutory definition of delinquency.[3]

There is evidence that in different neighborhoods deviant acts which violate codified social norms do not equally come to the attention of official agencies and that, when noted, the perpetrator may be defined differently according to who he is and where he lives. "The authority delegated to officials to exercise judgments that regulate the types and amount of juvenile misconduct subjected to legal proceedings adds to the variation in the nature and rates of delinquency from one time and place to another."[4]

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[2] See Albert K. Cohen, Delinquent Boys: The Culture of the Gang, Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1955, pp. 36-48.

[3] H. A. Bloch and F. T. Flynn, Delinquency: The Juvenile Offender in America Today, New York: Random House, 1956, p. 8.

Two kinds of data about adolescents seem essential for developing theories of delinquency. First is the distribution of adolescents classified by the misconduct in which they have engaged, irrespective of the definition official agencies have placed upon it. If, in fact, the various components of a social system produce different frequencies and types of deviant behavior, the distribution of misconduct rather than the distribution of officially defined delinquents is the relevant variable for examination. Hypotheses about the distributions of deviants, together with the structural explanations advanced to explain them, will remain tentative until appropriate data are assembled.

The second distribution is the discrepancy ratio of adolescents who have been officially defined as delinquent to those who are eligible for official action. These data are important because they reflect the process by means of which official agencies become aware of offenders and single out certain of them for correctional experiences. The ratio can be constructed only by determining the number who have committed violations without being declared delinquent as well as the number of official delinquents.

If the information at the disposal of the criminologist concerns only the misbehavior of youth segregated for official action, apparently he has what amounts to a biased sample from which he cannot infer the characteristics of the universe from which it is drawn. Nor can he determine the nature of the sample's "bias" without additional information about the universe.[5] This study proposes to obtain, from boys in a sample of community areas in New York City, distributions of youth classified according to their misconduct measured independently of official actions and, by obtaining "rates of official delinquency" in the same samples, to obtain a distribution of discrepancy rates between official delinquents and those who could have been defined as delinquent.

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[4] Richard A. Cloward and Lloyd E. Ohlin, Delinquency and Opportunity: A Theory of Delinquent Gangs, Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1960, p. 5.

Method of Analysis

From the sample we will be able, through regression analysis, to compare the efficiency of selected environmental variables, singly and in combination, in accounting for rates of adolescents who have commited acts of misconduct and in the discrepancy ratios of those who were to those who could have been processed as official delinquents. The domains from which independent variables will be chosen are disrupted families, socioeconomic "squalor," socioeconomic contrasts, juvenile-population density, and concentration of underprivileged minority groups.[6] For example, we may be able to show that variations in socioeconomic conditions and the concentration of underprivileged minority groups, independent of each other as well as of other variables, are significant predictors of variations in rates of adolescent misconduct, while socioeconomic contrasts is a more significant factor for predicting discrepancy ratios. Such a finding would suggest that although both poverty and minority-group status generate adolescent misconduct, the visibility and the social evaluation of the "seriousness" of such conduct, as expressed in discrepancy ratios which reflect the allocation of official decisions by agencies of criminal justice, is greater when the misconduct of minority-group members and low-status children impinges on higher-status districts of the city.

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[5] Cohen, op. cit., p. 36.

[6] The study will be replicated in 1967 to provide information for evaluating the success or failure of the Mobilization program. These variable domains follow those developed by Isidor Chein in Some Epidemiological Vectors of Delinquency and Its Control: Outline of a Project, mimeographed, April 1961. With so few sample areas we cannot duplicate Chein's method, but his domains can serve as a guide for selecting independent variables. We will also be able to compare his "expected" and "observed" rates of official delinquency with those based on our sample data. We will, in addition, explore the use of other independent variables, including data obtained from questionnaires used to measure misconduct.

The analysis will not be restricted to variables, such as those listed above, which are based on census data. The questionnaires administered to obtain information about misconduct will also provide measures of subjective facts to characterize city areas. Some of these can be utilized either as dependent variables, to be explained, or as independent variables, to account for variation in rates of misconduct. For example, if an anomie scale is included on the questionnaire, we can identify the factors which account for variation in it. We can also determine whether or not variations in anomie are significant in predicting misconduct when other characteristics of area units are controlled.

A second level of analysis will consider each sample area as a separate unit of observation. Within each one we will be able to compare characteristics of youth who rate high on misconduct with characteristics of those who do not; we can analyze differences between those who have been officially defined as delinquent and others in the same area who have engaged in violations without being processed by official agencies. For example, if the aggregate measure of anomie turns out to be significantly related to area variation in misconduct rates, independent of other factors, we can determine whether or not in each area the adolescents who rank high on the anomie scale also tend to rank high on misconduct. In this manner analysis can move from ecological to individual "correlations," providing a more integrated interpretation of delinquency than previous research has been able to achieve.

The Sample

As we have implied, the units of observation for this study will be areas of New York City rather than individuals. That is, individual measurements will be converted to summary measures of the adolescent population in sample areas of the city in order to make it possible to relate rates of misconduct to the characteristics of the areas in which the adolescents reside. The alternative-area sampling frames for which U.S. Census information is reported in New York City are census tracts and "health areas" (territorial units comprising a number of contiguous census tracts). We have tentatively decided to select a sample of 50 health areas, stratified for socioeconomic and ethnic characteristics, although this decision may change with further exploration of possibilities.[7]

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[7] Relationships between characteristics of territorial units are always relative to the size of the populations included within those units. Correlation or regression coefficients tend to increase with the size of the area units of observation upon which they are based, although this consequence is not inevitable. Udny Yule and M.G. Kendall, in *An Introduction to the Theory of Statistics*, New York: Hafnew Publishing Co., 1950, p. 315, reported a series of observations on the correlation between delinquency rates and median rental in Cleveland, Ohio. The 252 census tracts were grouped successively into 200, 175, 150, 125, 100, 50, and 25 areas, "consisting so far as possible of the same size and comprising contiguous territory." The observed correlations, beginning with that for all tracts, were - .516, - .504, - .480, - .475, - .563, - .524, - .579, and - .621. Also see Otis Dudley Duncan, Ray P. Cuzzort, and Beverly Duncan, *Statistical Geography: Problems in Analyzing Area Data*, Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1961, p. 111.

The procedures in the present study may or may not select one or more of the "health areas" in the Mobilization district for the city sample for the original study or its replication. However, identical data will be assembled for the Mobilization health areas at both times, for use in evaluation, even though they may be excluded from the sample.

The number of observations in each sample area should be large enough for reliable measurements, yet small enough so that the amount of time and money required for interviews is not unreasonable. Although a sample of all age and sex groups in these areas would be preferable, we have therefore decided to limit observations to males and to restrict them further to 15-year-olds, the oldest youth population still attending school in large proportions. This will produce an estimated average of 125 fifteen-year-old males per area. To eliminate within-area sampling variability, the questionnaire will be administered in groups to the entire population of 15-year-old boys residing in each sample area.[8]

The list of boys to be interviewed will be obtained from files maintained at each of the junior high schools. When the sample of 50 areas is selected, an alphabetized street coding guide will be constructed for each area so that any street address in that area can be readily identified. The junior high schools serving residents of the sample areas will be identified from maps and, using the street coding guide, a list of all 15-year-old males residing in each sample area will be obtained from school records.[9]

Sources of Data and Problems in Analysis

The data for the study will be obtained from several sources. The boys listed as residents of the sample areas will be assembled in a group in their schools to complete questionnaires under the supervision of a trained interviewer. Special efforts will be made to obtain questionnaire data under approximately comparable conditions from boys who are temporarily absent from school or in correctional institutions. The questionnaire will contain instruments for measuring involvement in misconduct and selected subjective variables as well as for determining the status characteristics of the boy and his family. Although the questionnaire will be administered under conditions of anonymity, each boy will be asked his birthdate so that his responses can be linked to his name. The names, in turn, will be processed through school files to obtain additional information and through the records of the police and courts to determine the respondents' experience with official agencies. The latter procedure will provide an official delinquency rate specific to the boys listed for the samples. The final source of data is the U.S. Census, which provides descriptive characteristics of the sample areas.

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[8] This decision recognizes that in sampling for characteristics possessed by a small proportion of an area's population, such as delinquency, a large proportion must be interviewed. The cost of interviewing all relevant cases is compensated for by the ease of drawing the list of individuals.

[9] In certain areas the adolescent population will be distributed among several schools, while other areas will be served by only one school. The possibility of school enrollment outside the district of residence will be investigated to complete the enumeration.

It is premature to indicate the content of the questionnaire, since a selection of items will be made from the survey instrument administered to a sample of youth in the Mobilization area in the spring and summer of 1961 (see Appendix R - 4). After examining the performance of the various items in the Mobilization youth survey and in other unpublished studies, we shall construct a briefer version of the survey instrument in the form of a questionnaire to be self-administered by groups of adolescents with the guidance of a trained interviewer. The questionnaire and the interviewers' training will anticipate the multiplicity of languages and reading levels that will be encountered.

The measurement of misconduct presents special problems and also illustrates issues that apply to other variables. These must be resolved before the questionnaire is administered to a large sample.

Criminologists have long recognized the inadequacy of official delinquency statistics[10] and have introduced methods for measuring misconduct independent of such data. Recently this work has been given fresh impetus by application of the Short-Nye Scale[11] to various noninstitutionalized populations of adolescents. Briefly, this scale, composed of misbehavior items which give it face validity, assumes that "delinquency" (adolescent misconduct, as we have defined it) is unidimensional and that therefore adolescents' responses form a Guttman scale or distribution that can be utilized to rank them according to the seriousness of the misconduct in which they have engaged.

The Short-Nye Scale has not yet been employed, at least in published reports, to measure variations in rates of misconduct among areas of a large city. It has typically been used for such purposes as a comparison of the reported characteristics or responses of youths who fall above a cutting point on the scale with those of youths who rank lower. However, there is no intrinsic difference between using a survey instrument of this variety to characterize populations of urban areas and using it to characterize individuals, even though the former application may be somewhat unorthodox. As applied to our sample populations, the scale will produce a frequency distribution of boys by scale-type within each area. The development of a summary characteristic to describe the variation in such distributions among city areas is no different from characterizing aggregates according to the distributions of individual incomes, a standard problem for those working with census data. The U.S. Census is, after all, a large-scale survey, and methods developed by ecologists and others who work with census information are equally applicable to other kinds of survey data.

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[10] See F. J. Murphy, M. M. Shirley, and H. S. Witmer, "The Incidence of Hidden Delinquency," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, Vol. 16 (Oct. 1946), pp. 686-96; William McCord and Joan McCord, with Irving Zola, Origins of Crime, New York: Columbia University Press, 1959; A. L. Porterfield, Youth in Trouble, Fort Worth, Texas: Leo Rotisham Foundation, 1946.

[11] F. Ivan Nye and James F. Short, Jr., "Scaling Delinquent Behavior," American Sociological Review, Vol. 22, No. 3 (June 1957), pp. 326-31; F. Ivan Nye, Family Relationships and Delinquent Behavior, New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1958, Chap. 1; James F. Short, Jr., and F. Ivan Nye, "Extent of Unrecorded Delinquency: Tentative Conclusions," Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science, Vol. 49, No. 4 (Nov.-Dec. 1958), pp. 296-302.

A more difficult question is whether the Short-Nye Scale and other instruments under consideration can effectively discriminate among populations of different city areas.

A scale can be unidimensional for one population group while for a second the items may form no clear pattern. Such differences in scale responses may reflect the different life experiences of the various ethnic or class components of a city's population.[12] Failure of the items to scale for one or more of these groups will make it difficult to interpret differences between one city area and another.

We want to examine carefully the performance of the Short-Nye Scale and other instruments included in Mobilization's youth survey before deciding which measures to include in our questionnaire. We want to engage in more intensive pretesting in a variety of urban areas than is customary in survey research in order to determine whether or not reports of misconduct and other responses form meaningful distributions for aggregate analysis. If the Short-Nye Scale and other measures of misconduct fail to scale for relevant component populations and workable substitute items cannot be developed, the study will be discontinued.

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[12] Claire Selltiz, Marie Jahoda, Morton Deutsch, and Stuart W. Cook, Research Methods in Social Relations, Rev. one-vol. Ed., New York: Henry Holt, 1959, pp. 376-77.

In view of the preliminary investigation required to ensure that the instruments will differentiate meaningfully between urban areas, we do not plan to undertake the city-wide survey until January 1963. In the intervening time, we shall construct the questionnaire, administer it under classroom conditions to sufficiently varied populations of boys to reproduce the variety of problems that will be encountered, and develop on the basis of empirical data the method of describing distributions.

The proposed analysis of rates of misconduct and the discrepency ratios between these and official delinquency rates is not a final effort. Our findings will describe relationships applying only to 15-year-old males at two points in time in one city. Furthermore, New York, as the largest city in the United States and with unique functional relationships with the remainder of the country, cannot be assumed to represent all other cities. We expect, however, that successful completion of the study will point the way for additional investigations in other cities to generalize findings. In this manner assumptions about the distribution of adolescent misconduct and the discrepancy between it and official delinquency, together with the factors which account for them, can be given a firm empirical basis. We also anticipate that simultaneous examination of relationships at the aggregate and individual levels will indicate points of agreement between theoretical positions that now seem contradictory.

The Social Reintegration of Released Juvenile Offenders

Juvenile correctional institutions are charged with two general responsibilities: (1) segregation offenders; and (2) rehabilitating them by altering their values, improving their skills, and heightening their desire to live a law-abiding life. Although these institutions are successful in meeting the first obligation, there is considerable doubt whether they are meeting the second. This doubt is based on the high rates of recidivism, estimated at between 30 and 80 percent, for all juvenile correctional institutions.[13] This research proposal is directed to the task of discovering why it is that so many youngsters get caught up in a vicious cycle, graduating from training schools to reformatories and ultimately to adult correctional institutions. It is based on the proposition that the crucial problem for study is the social reintegration of boys released from these institutions, particularly of the factors that prevent these boys from making a conforming social adjustment. The proposition implies that it is not enough to reorganize the individual's values and personality structure and equip him with new skills; many correctional institutions are accomplishing these tasks. One must also change the external situation that confronts the released offender. In effect, one must create paths to socially conforming roles which the offender can follow.

The Theoretical Perspective

From our theoretical viewpoint, the major explanation for high rates of recidivism lies outside the correctional institution, in the community to which the offender returns. The overwhelming majority of offenders come to the institution from the lower-class neighborhoods of the city and when released return to these same neighborhoods. Many offenders are also members of minority groups. It is our belief that the social location of the offender his age as well as his class and ethnic group, plus a definitional problem which he faces upon release — provides the key to the high rate of failure among graduates of juvenile institutions.

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[13] See, for example, E. H. Sutherland and D. R. Cressey, Principles of Criminology, 5th Ed., Chicago, Ill.: J. B. Lippincott, 1955, p. 411.

Extensive documentation exists to show that lower-class youth and members of minority groups face serious problems of adjustment to American society.[14] In particular, persons in these parts of the social structure are enjoined to strive for success goals while being denied opportunities to reach these goals by legitimate means. With a family unable to give him a start in business or provide him with influential or helpful contacts, the lower-class boy can look only to education as a route to legitimate success. Yet here too, albeit inadvertently, he is denied opportunity.

> For many members of the lower class, struggling to maintain a minimum level of subsistence, the goal of advanced education must seem remote indeed. In a family that can scarcely afford food, shelter, and clothing, pressure is exerted upon the young to leave school early in order to secure employment and thereby help the family.... Quitting school... is not necessarily a negative or rebellious response to compulsory-attendance laws, but may be a necessary response to economic pressure.[15]

For members of minority groups, who are often members of the lower class as well, the situation is especially acute, for social barriers to the attainment of success are added to the economic barriers. The fact of discrimination against Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, and other ethnic minorities is too well known to require elaboration here.

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[14] See, for example, Genevieve Knupfer, "Portrait of the Underdog," Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. 11 (Spring 1947), pp. 103-14; Cohen, op. cit., pp. 456-69; Abram Kardiner and Lionel Ovesey, The Mark of Oppression, New York: W. W. Norton, 1951; Arnold M. Rose (ed.), Race Prejudice and Discrimination, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951, esp. pp. 113-290.

[15] Cloward and Ohlin, op. cit., p. 102.

This situation engenders a feeling of helplessness and frustration, one consequence of which is a denial of the legitimacy of prevailing social norms. If the youth sees that he can attain success goals or surcease from his intolerable situation by adopting a deviant mode of behavior, there are no internal constraints to prevent him from doing so. Thus his social position itself encourages the released offender to persist in committing delinquent acts. Inevitably, he is caught and recommitted. If this were all there is to the story we should expect the rate of recidivism among released offenders to be about the same as the rate of first offenses among their never-institutionalized brethren. The startling fact is, however, that the released offender is apparently more likely to be sent to an institution than his peer who has never been institutionalized. Why the difference in rates? In our theoretical scheme, the explanation lies in a factor that exacerbates the normal pressures toward deviance arising from the social location of the released offender.

From the point of view of the offender, the administration of criminal justice may be understood as a series of "status-degradation ceremonies" which begin at the point of contact with the police and end with the expiration of one's sentence. Two aspects of these ceremonials are crucial. First, status degradation entails the ritual destruction of the individual's previous identity. As Garfinkel observes, "The work of denunciation effects the recasting of the objective character of the perceived other. The other person becomes in the eyes of his condemners literally a different and new person.... In the social calculus of reality representations and tests, the former identity stands as accidental; the new identity is the 'basic reality.' What he is now is what 'after all' he was all along."[16] Second, the new identity assigned to the individual is defined as having been "all along" is "in essence of a lower species."[17]

The way in which the released offender is defined constitutes, of course, the central problem in parole programs. The release of the offender by the correctional institution hardly signifies a readiness on the part of the larger society to permit or encourage his reintegration. Quite the contrary, for the invidious definition imposed upon him during the administration of justice persists and takes hold in the community, despite the fact that positive changes in his values and social and vocational skills may have taken place during his confinement. Thus, upon release, the individual finds that employment opportunities are closed to him, schools accept him grudgingly, if at all, and interpersonal relations are strained. In short, the routes to a successful conventional adjustment, already limited by his social position, are further restricted by society's imposition of an invidious definition. As social rejection is fully experienced, the embittered and frustrated individual finally returns to the gang in order to escape material and social deprivation.

From our theoretical point of view, the foregoing is the major explanation for high rates of recidivism. Having induced the inmate to strive for success in the conventional world, the correctional institution is unable to provide him with legitimate means for attaining that success. The situation contains a bitter paradox: to the extent that the correctional institution is able to induce an inmate to strive for success, it increases the likelihood that he will recidivate, for few legitimate routes to success are open to the released offender.

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[16] Harold Garfinkel, "Conditions of Successful Degradation Ceremonies," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 61 (March 1956), pp. 421-22.
[17] Ibid., p. 421.

Although criminologists have long been aware of the difficulties experienced by released offenders in attempting to achieve reintegration, there has been very little systematic research on this problem or detailed exploration of the processes through which released offenders achieve some form of accommodation to the situation which confronts them. The bulk of the literature is descriptive, drawing on agency case files and personal experience to support and document the problems offenders face in trying to win acceptance from employers, neighbors, relatives, and friends after a period of confinement. Most of the research studies on the post-institutional conduct of offenders have addressed themselves simply to the problem of determining rates of recidivism or correlating background factors with the incidence of parole success or failure.[18] All these studies fail to provide the kind of information on the problems and processes of social reintegration which the present project proposes to explore.

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[18] See Lloyd E. Ohlin, Selection for Parole, New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1951; F. F. Laune, Predicting Criminality: Forcasting Behavior on Parole, Northwestern University Studies in the Social Sciences, No. 1, Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1936; John L. Gillin, "Parole Prediction in Wisconsin," Sociology and Social Research, Vol. 34 (July-Aug. 1950), pp. 407-14; Stanley B. Zyckerman, Alfred J. Barron, and Horace B. Whittier, "A Follow-up Study of Minnesota State Reformatory Inmates," Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science, Vol. 43 (Jan.-Feb. 1953), pp. 622-36.

Two major exceptions to these criticisms of the literature are the well-known investigations of Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck [19] and a virtually unknown doctoral dissertation by Jerome Rozycki. [20] These studies, however, are now outdated. The Gluecks' studies are of offenders who served time prior to 1920, while Rozycki's study is of persons released from the District of Columbia Reformatory at Lorton, Virginia, during the depression of the 1930's. The Gluecks were interested primarily in correlating the outcome of the post-institutional adjustment of offenders with background factors which could prove predictive of individual maladjustment. Consequently, they paid relatively little attention to the processes of reintegration and the difficulties which arise during these processes. The Rozycki study, on the other hand, does attempt to look at the actual reintegration process. However, it is confined to adult offenders, whose problems of integration may be expected to be more acute in some areas and less acute in other areas than those of juvenile offenders. Nevertheless, this study is most instructive concerning the lives of released offenders. A few excerpts concerning the environment, social reintegration, and employment experiences of these men will illustrate the tenor of the findings:

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[19] Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, 500 Criminal Careers, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1930; Later Criminal Careers, New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1937; and others.

[20] Jerome Joseph Rozycki, Early Recidivism Among First Offenders, Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America, 1948.

> Over three-fourths of the ex-prisoners returned to neighborhood areas that are recognized as having the greatest density of population and incidence of crime. This was true only to a slightly larger degree among the recidivists. Approximately one-half of each group were found living in dwellings that could be considered as adequate and in good order. Many of these homes were surrounded by noisy, crowded, unclean streets in proximity to immoral establishments. Generally speaking, then, nearly a half of the total group, with a slightly larger proportion of the recidivists, returned to neighborhoods that were less likely to provide opportunities or incentives for the development of social qualities which would fit the men for constructive life in society.[21]
>
> A greater degree of social integration was in evidence among the recovered men [i.e., those who did not recidivate after release] While in prison, more persons visited them and were interested in their welfare. Then, upon release, a greater number of them had homes of relatives to return to, where they received welcome acceptance and various forms of assistance. More of these men were the subjects of sincere concern and sympathetic attitudes on the part of those with whom they went to live. This inclusion in a favorably disposed social group provided the recovered men with incentives and the sustaining power to maintain a resolve to live within society's norms.[22]
>
> Although a few of the adjusted men managed to obtain somewhat better employment, the larger number of ex-prisoners in both groups found it necessary to accept only the more menial types of work. The nature of these jobs was discouraging and the wages only sufficient to allow for immediate living expenses, with no opportunity to provide for financial emergencies. The greater number in both groups found only unskilled types of jobs on construction projects and in restaurants, at low wages, open to them. A lack of skill and necessary experience, coupled with a

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[21] Ibid., pp. 243-44.

[22] Ibid., pp. 238-39.

> scarcity of jobs, determined the poor character of the employment opportunities among a greater number of the recidivists.[23]

The problem of invidious definition, which is a cornerstone of our theoretical orientation, is well documented in this study. To take employment as an example, few released offenders claimed that knowledge of their ex-prisoner status closed off job opportunities, yet it is clear that this status relegated these men to the poorer paying and more menial tasks. Rozycki notes:

> At times it may not be advisable to inform the employer of a parolee's status, since the loss of an opportunity for a better job can have serious effect on recovery. Several members of the recovered group in this study did manage to secure very satisfactory employment, which would have been denied them had the employer known of their past record. These positions assured their recovery further by admitting them to more desirable social groups.... Those men qualified for better forms of employment...ought to be protected from being exploited on menial jobs by unscrupulous employers. Such employers provide occasion for early recidivism more so than most other environmental factors.[24]

In general, then, the findings of this study support the theoretical perspectives outlined here. It should be noted, however, that although Rozycki's study purports to be a study of first offenders, only eight percent of his group had commited no prior delinquencies, and almost half had spent some time in jail or a junior correctional institution. We may presume, therefore, that many of the subjects of the study had already experienced social rejection prior to the offense which sent them to Lorton.

Previous Research by the Applicant

Some work on the social reintegration of juvenile offenders has already been done by the applicant under a grant (M2742) from the National Institute of Mental Health. The work done to date has been largely methodological, focusing upon the feasibility and difficulties of maintaining intimate day-by-day contact with released offenders. Despite the methodological focus, the information collected supports the theoretical viewpoint described here and replicates many of the findings and impressions concerning the problems of reintegration.[25] The story is indeed one of underpriviledged and unskilled youngsters, some of whom are highly motivated and some of whom are not, beating against barriers to their successful reintegration into the community, employment, school, and family. The methodological explorations have convinced us that it is possible to obtain systematic, detailed, reliable, and rich data concerning the experiences of released offenders which will shed light on why so many youngsters released from institutions return within a month, six months, or a year.

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[23] Ibid., p. 241.

[24] Ibid., pp. 255-56.

Research Design

The aim of the proposed research is to develop an understanding of the requirements for the successful reintegration of released offenders. Our plan calls for selecting a random sample of 100 boys returning to low-income areas in New York City. Prior to the boys' release, information will be gathered through interviews, observation of cottages, and inspection of case records. The boys will be interviewed about their plans and aspirations and their expectations as to the experiences they will have after release. Following release, each case will be picked up by a field observer in the area. The observer not only will remain in constant contact with the boy, especially during the months immediately following release, but will

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25. See Kenneth Marshall, "Milton Clark: Chapters from the Official and Unofficial Biography of a Delinquent," Research Center, New York School of Social Work, dittoed, 1960.

establish relationships with and secure information from significant persons in the community—e.g., parents and other relatives, school teachers, employers, neighbors, peer-group associates, parole officers, policemen, etc. From both direct observation and interviews, the observer will attempt to determine how the discharge is socially defined and treated by these significant persons. Periodically, we will systematically collect information about how the released offender perceives his experiences, has altered his aspirations and plans, and has been motivated to engage or not engage in further delinquencies.

Our aim is to study the process of reintegration intensively, noting intimate, day-by-day details of the offender's post-release experiences. In particular, we should like to know how those who fail differ from those who apparently succeed. Such differences might be associated with (1) variations in the social definitions imposed on the dischargees by significant persons in their environment; (2) variations in social or occupational skills; (3) variations in social resources (e.g., the ability of the family to make a place for the dischargee in a family-owned business); (4) variations in "pulls" from former delinquent associates; and (5) variations in the dischargees' expectations concerning post-release experiences. Our purpose would be to trace reintegration experiences, describing them in great detail, and then to compare various categories of individuals depending on the routes they follow. This plan should permit us to isolate the crucial aspects of the reintegration process.

Analysis of the Survey Data

During the first phase of Mobilization for Youth, extensive systematic data were gathered pertaining to the problem of juvenile delinquency. Additional research funds are now required to analyze these data fully and to explore their theoretical and practical implications. We shall describe here the kinds of analysis we propose to conduct. The list cannot be complete, however, for additional topics of inquiry will doubtless suggest themselves in the course of analysis.

Data Collection

Three surveys were conducted during the planning phases: the first consisted of an interview with one adult in each of 988 households in the project area; the second consisted of an interview with all persons between ages of 10 and 20 in those same households. The samples are described in Appendix R-5. The instruments, which can be found in Appendices R-3 and R-4, contain items of interest to practitioners and theoreticians in the field of juvenile delinquency. Included in these two surveys are data on leisure-time activities, participation in formal organizations, attitudes toward the community, attitudes toward the school and settlement house, mobility aspirations, assessments of the seriousness of juvenile delinquency, and the like. The data have been drawn from all segments of the population of the Mobilization area and afford the possibility of comparing the attitudes of adults and youth living in the same household.

The third survey consisted of interviews with the leaders of nearly 200 organizations in the Mobilization Area. The instrument for the survey is in Appendix R-6. These organizations represent a wide range of activities and interests: churches and synagogues, neighborhood councils, businessmen's associations, social and athletic clubs, parents' associations, and social service organizations. During these interviews information was obtained on the membership of the organization, its structure, program activities, relationships with other organizations and with influential persons in the community, and actual and potential social-action interests.

Purposes of the Analysis

We propose to utilize these extensive data for three general purposes: (1) to provide help in staging the many phases of the program; (2) to establish a base from which changes in the community may be assessed; and (3) to contribute to an understanding of the causes, nature, and consequences of juvenile delinquency.

Staging the action program: Although Mobilization seeks to serve the entire community, this does not mean that the total program will be dispersed throughout the community. For maximal effectiveness, certain services and certain parts of the program will be directed to particular segments of the community. In making decisions about what parts of the total Mobilization program will be offered to what parts of the community, we shall rely on analysis of the survey results. Detailed analysis will make it possible to locate segments of the community that are most in need of, or are most ready to accept, a particular set of services. For example, the subsidized work program seeks to open job opportunities for the youth in the area. Through analysis of the survey results, it will be possible to identify the social characteristics (age, sex, class, ethnic group, etc.) of those youth who are not working but are interested in working. Once we have specified the social location of youth wanting jobs, we can gear the work program to that particular segment of the community.

In a few instances, the research will be able to give specific direction to the staging of the action program. For example, the starter program of Organizing the Unaffiliated (See Appendix A-3) requires that the leaders of the indigenous groups in the community be called together in small discussion groups, where they will be given training in social-action techniques and procedures. Through our survey of the leaders of these organizations we will be able to group together persons who have expressed similar action interests while keeping separate the leaders of organizations which have expressed antagonism toward each other. This should make it possible for the organizational program to get underway in an atmosphere of mutual concern with minimal hostility.

The kinds of analysis to be undertaken and the topics to be addressed cannot yet be specified. It is reasonably certain, however, that we will seek to identify those portions of the community that are (1) most distrustful of and least likely to interact with the schools, so that bridges to them, through the Parent-Education Coordinators, may be built; (2) most antagonistic toward one another so that a program can be designed to increase mutual understanding; and (3) most eager to engage in social action. Although the findings of the survey will not be the sole criterion for feeding services into the Mobilization area, an integrated research-action approach will be used.

Evaluation of the action program: Essential to any evaluation of the impact of a program upon a community is a description of that community prior to the inauguration of the program. Such a description provides a base from which changes may be assessed. Mobilization is fortunate in having surveys conducted prior to the start of the program, for they are an excellent source of information about community values, beliefs, and attitudes. Further information is available in published sources — e.g., juvenile-delinquency statistics, rates of persons on public assistance, etc.

In obtaining a description of the community relevant to evaluation, we must first translate the objectives of the program into measurable variables, and second, determine the value of each variable for the community as a whole as well as for each of its component parts. Completion of these two steps will provide a detailed picture of the initial state of the community which is relevant not only for assessing changes but also for giving action personnel an accurate conception of the task which confronts them.

For example, one objective of Mobilization is "to increase the motivation and ability of local residents to participate in the social and political life of the community." What does this stated objective mean empirically? Does it encompass only one objective or more than one? It may involve two objectives — increasing motivation and increasing ability — or four if the social life of the community is conceived of as distinct from its political life. And is the stated objective what Mobilization "really" intends? Perhaps the "true" objective of the program is to increase participation rather than motivation or ability to participate. What is the meaning of various key words in the statement -- for example, "increase"? Is the conception that of increasing the proportion of people who are motivated to participate, or that of raising the level of motivation of each person in the community? The word "participation" also presents confusions. Is participation to be expressed through formal organizations, or is behavior what is meant? Must one become active in (or perhaps just join) a political organization, or is an increase in the proportion of local residents who vote the kind of behavior that is meant by participation?

Once the empirical referents of the objectives of the program have been established, the task of finding indicators begins. The surveys have a number of potential indicators of motivation to participate in the social and political life of the community, and these must be subjected to standard tests of reliability and validity to determine their adequacy for evaluation purposes.

After measures of the objectives of the program have been derived, the differences among various segments of the community on these measures must be identified. Are middle-income persons more motivated to participate in the social and political life of the community than low-income persons? If so, is this true regardless of ethnic and religious affiliations, type of housing, age, sex, and the like? Are those who are highly motivated already participating in organizations, and if so, in what kind of organization? These and other questions will be drawn with action assumptions and target groups in mind.

Such, briefly, are the ways in which data from the surveys will be used to lay a base for evaluation. As can be seen, the objectives of this undertaking coincide at many points with the requirements for staging the action program. These two uses of the surveys are closely entwined and will be treated as a single undertaking.

Basic research: Elsewhere in this appendix are presented proposals for basic research requiring new data collections. There are a number of basic research questions, however, which can be treated with the data in hand. Not all of these are directly relevant to juvenile delinquency, but we shall restrict our illustrations to certain key problems raised in Delinquency and Opportunity. The first of these concerns the description and distribution of delinquent behavior throughout the social structure; the second involves further specification of the correlates of anomie and community integration.

Many disputes appear in the literature about the distribution of delinquency throughout the social structure. The data on adolescents collected by Mobilization for Youth cannot, of course, settle these disputes once and for all. The data represent only one community and are drawn from a restricted age range. A case study of the distribution of delinquency is possible, however, not only of official and unofficial misbehaviors, but also of knowledge about and participation in delinquent life styles. Delinquency and Opportunity assumes that the bulk of delinquent acts are patterned, not idiosyncratic or unintentional. It further asserts that the locus of hard-core delinquency is the gang, for it is the gang that claims the youngsters' allegiance, that recruits, trains and motivates them to act, and that supports deviant activities with a set of beliefs, values, and attitudes different from those of conventional society. Our interviews with adolescents included a variety of questions designed to determine the respondent's familiarity with or exposure to various types of delinquent subculture. For example, each respondent was asked to define 20 terms used by members of different subcultures. The more of these terms the teen-ager recognizes and understands, the greater is his familiarity with the mode of delinquency using those terms. Youngsters were also asked whether they knew for certain that there were persons in the neighborhood who engaged in illicit activities such as dope peddling. By combining these measures of exposure and familiarity, we can determine the extent to which each youngster has contact with delinquent subcultures.

Since we will have available official police records on all adolescents included in our survey, as well as each youngster's own report of his delinquent activities, it will be possible to map the distribution of delinquent behaviors, sentiments, knowledge, and familiarity throughout the whole social structure of the Mobilization area. We will be able to state for the area the extent to which various measures of delinquency vary together, and we will be able to tell whether there are any patterned differences according to age, sex, ethnic background, socioeconomic status, and the like between those adolescents who are more and less familiar with various subcultures, who have and have not engaged in delinquent activities of a particular kind, and who have committed various delinquent acts alone and in concert with others.

Having described delinquency, we can begin to investigate its social origins, to identify and attempt to measure variables that account for variations observed in our data. One such variable is anomie, the state of normlessness originating in the disjuncture between culturally induced aspirations and socially structured routes to the achievement of success goals. In our analysis we shall attempt to shed light on some questions of traditional concern to sociologists and other investigators of social phenomena. What are the aspirations of metropolitan slum dwellers? Are there any patterned differences between the several social classes in the content and level of aspirations? What is the impact upon aspirations of such social categories as age, ethnicity, type of housing, length of residence in the community and the U.S.A.? On the basis of our data, we might also investigate the way in which our respondents view their chances of getting ahead by conventional means. How important is education in their view, and what other qualities do they believe are needed for success? What social barriers to success do our respondents perceive? Do they believe that racial and religious discrimination, lack of money for education, and the like jeopardize their life chances?

Although the disjuncture between success goals and the capacity to achieve these goals through socially structured means is the source of anomie, it is not a measure of anomie itself. We have attempted to measure anomie by administering a combination of two well-known anomie scales to our respondents. Using the resulting scale scores, we can then determine the proportion of persons with high anomie scores in each of various social categories. In which religious, racial, and ethnic groups is anomie most widespread? Are older persons more anomic than younger persons? Are divorced, separated, and widowed persons more likely to be anomic than married persons? What effect does residential mobility and immigration have on anomie rates, and does public housing substantially alter this pattern? And, finally, are those groups in which a high proportion of members display anomie the same groups in which the highest proportion of youngsters are delinquent?

One of the main hypotheses stated in Delinquency and Opportunity is that the adaptation to anomie chosen by an individual experiencing pressure toward deviance depends upon the social structure in which that individual finds himself. The theory further states that the relative integration of the neighborhood is the chief determinant of the type of delinquency that flourishes there: integrated neighborhoods promote criminal subcultures among adolescents, while nonintegrated neighborhoods spawn bopping gangs. Among other types of integration we shall examine that which is reflected in a person's involvement in community organizations and informal friendship groups.

In an industrial society, formal organizations (social, civic, fraternal, philanthropic, etc.) perform a large share of the task of regulating the behavior of individual members. The extent to which a person is involved in such organizations reflects, in part, the degree of his integration within the community. Recognizing this, we asked the respondents the number and type of formal organizations to which they belonged, the frequency of their attendance, and any official positions they may have held in the organizations. By combining these data into an index of organizational activity, we can determine the types of person most and least likely to be involved in community life.

Community integration is also achieved through a network of informal friendship groups which exercise normative regulation and therefore social control. We have collected measures of several indicators of this type of integration: the frequency of the respondent's contacts with his neighbors, the extent to which he talks with them about community problems, and whether the respondent meets with others regularly to play cards, bowl, and the like.

Among the many questions we shall focus upon with these data are the following: To what extent is the area's population involved with formal or informal groups? Are there systematic differences in this respect between ethnic groups, socioeconomic classes, age-groupings, occupants of public and private housing, or sections of the area? Does formal group membership mitigate anomie by providing additional opportunities to achieve success? If anomie is curbed among those who belong to organizations, is there a comparable decrease in the rate of juvenile delinquency for that group?

The interrelations between anomie, community integration, and juvenile delinquency will form the nucleus of our basic research. Other lines of inquiry concerning these variables and others will be pursued as they develop and prove fruitful.

As the foregoing has strongly implied, thorough analysis of the data on hand promises both practical and theoretical gains. A description of the state of the community will provide action personnel with guides to a strategy for conducting the program and a detailed picture of the tasks to be done. From a purely research point of view, the data can be utilized to shed light upon several troublesome problems in the field of juvenile delinquency, including the distribution of delinquent behavior and styles throughout a community's social structure, the role of mobility aspirations in generating pressures toward deviance, and the part played by various forms of community integration in the molding adaptations to pressure toward deviance.

The Urban Political Machine: A Study of Institutional Change

Some observers of the urban political scene have suggested that the political machine has withered away or is the process of withering away. They claim that because the machine is no longer needed to perform certain social services, it has been deserted by its previous supporters. The central hypothesis of this study is that the political machine has not left, and is not about to leave, the urban scene, but that in the past decade or so the support of the machine has been relocated in the social structure. This social relocation has been accompanied by a redifinition of the goals and objectives of the institution.

The political machine was and is a major institution in large metropolitan areas. In the past, it performed a variety of services to a clientele with distinctive economic, racial, and social interests. It served as a sponsoring agent for persons with mobility aspirations who had failed to ascend via the occupational or educational ladders. Frequently, the machine was a force for integration in low-income neighborhoods. It supplied a meeting place for persons who had competitive or indifferent relations with one another in other institutional settings.

With changes in the class, racial, and ethnic composition of neighborhoods, the machine has had to find new functions, new services, and, in general, new reasons for existence. We believe that the political machine of today may be a different institution from the machine of the 1930's, but that its vitality and strength have not necessarily declined.

A traditional function of the big-city political machine was to provide services and favors in return for votes to members of the community who lacked the facility to intrude themselves into the organizational web of bureaucratic agencies. Many of the functions performed by the machine paralleled the services available from official agencies; but, unlike the official agencies, the machine humanized and personalized its services. It provided help and favors, rather than justice and assistance. It sought to establish personal ties and friendships with individuals and families who felt estranged and believed themselves neglected by the rest of society. The political worker was a friend, a personal contact, who sympathized because he shared and understood the problems of the people in his community. The political worker lived in the same community as the people he served. He could be reached at almost any hour of the day or night; weekends were indistinguishable from work days. The people recognized that the politician was not likely to be reticent about using his influence to manipulate official organizations in order to gain results.

Such was the relationship that traditionally characterized the political machine and its constituents in large urban communities. In this research, we hypothesize that the machine has ceased to define itself by these types of services and that members of the community no longer turn to the machine for these functions. The New Deal spawned many agencies dedicated to servicing the welfare needs of the under-privileged. Since World War II, the size, number, visibility, and accessibility of these agencies have increased. Furthermore, concerted efforts have been made to locate them in areas where they can most effectively serve the needs of their clientele.

Since the end of World War II only a negligible number of immigrants have arrived in the U.S. and settled in the large cities. With the greatly reduced immigration, the character of the lowest status groups in the large cities has also changed, for a substantial proportion of the traditional immigrants groups has been absorbed into the middle class.

We hypothesize that these events led the political machine to relocate itself in the social structure and to redefine the functions and types of relationship that it would seek to establish with its constituents. While it once concentrated its efforts on groups that occupy the status floor in the society, the machine has now turned its sights to groups which occupy intermediate status positions, such as persons in the lower-middle and middle classes who wish to achieve political and social recognition and advancement.

In the earlier period the machine sought to establish diffuse personal ties. In return for party affiliation, the machine was willing to mediate for its clients in a strange and impersonal society. We suggest that in its dealings with persons of higher status, the machine establishes a different type of relationship. The machine is no longer dealing with persons whose only barter goods are their individual votes; persons with higher status tend to organize the resources in their community, which gives them a position from which they can bargain. Instead of the previous parent relationship between machine and voter, a contract is negotiated in which representatives of middle-class communities offer to deliver a body of votes in return for a larger slice of the political pie. Traditionally, persons occupying the lowest status of the society have not sought organizational affiliations in order to represent collective interests. Given the hypothesized changes in the political machine, the failure to organize now results in their exclusion from political bargaining sessions.

If the situation is in fact as we have described it, one of the consequences for the political machine will be a lessening of its power and effectiveness in areas of the city inhabited by persons of the lowest socioeconomic status and an increase in strength in higher status areas.

The research described below should be viewed as the first phase in an extensive study of the urban political machine. As we see it, this phase is necessary both because of its intrinsic interest and because it will provide a base for more intensive case analyses.

Research Design

We propose to trace the strength of the political machine in New York City over the past three decades. From census data which are available at least as far back as 1930, we shall sample census tracts stratified by such indicators of socioeconomic status as education, occupation, and income. We shall then match electoral districts[26] and the census tracts in the sample.[27] The ranks of these districts by socioeconomic status[28] will be compared with their rankings according to the strength of the political machine.

The statistic that we have devised for measuring the strength of the political machine in any given area is the following: the machine operates at optimal strength when there is a one-to-one relationship between the number of registered party voters and the number of persons who vote the party ticket.

$$\frac{\text{Registered Party Members}}{\text{Persons Voting the Party Ticket}} = \frac{1}{1}$$

If the machine registers more persons than it delivers on election day, or if, on the other hand, more persons vote for the party candidate than are registered, the machine has been compromised in its capacity to exercise control over its constituents. In the former situation, the machine has failed to deliver the full order of promised goods. In the latter, delivery has exceeded the promise. Voters might have behaved as they did because they admired the particular candidate that the party was sponsoring, or because they agreed with the issues or ideologies in the current campaign. But their votes do not indicate that the machine can count on them for support of the party in other contests.

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[26] An electoral district is the smallest political division. There is only one polling place in each electoral district.

[27] It may be necessary to sample census tracts each year from 1930 until the present because the boundaries of the electoral district change slightly from election to election. At least one election is held every year in New York City.

[28] A combined index of status will be computed based on income, education, and occupation.

We anticipate that through time, with marked acceleration from 1945 on, the correlation between areas in which the machine is strongest and those with the lowest socioeconomic status will be gradually reduced. As the strength of the machine decreases in lower status areas, it will increase in middle-class areas. Thus, in the 1930's we shall expect to find an inverse correlation between areas in which the machine is strongest and socioeconomic status. In the post-World War II era we shall expect to find that this pattern has been disturbed. The strength of the machine will be increasing in middle-class areas and decreasing in lower-class districts.

In 1960 there were 2,500 census tracts in New York City. We propose to sample at least every tenth tract — a total of at least 250 tracts. With a large sample we shall be able to group tracts according to characteristics in addition to socioeconomic status (e.g., rates of migration) thereby imposing controls on observed relationships. Electoral districts whose geographical boundaries match most closely the boundaries of the census tracts will comprise the sample of electoral districts. Since census tracts cover a larger area than most electoral districts, if more than one electoral district falls within the boundaries of a census tract both districts will be included.

Practical Implications

An important practical consideration in the proposed study concerns its implications for community-organization work with persons of lower socio-economic status. The findings from the study might indicate that efforts to increase awareness of the need for collective identification and political participation must be preceded by intensive training and education in the techniques of relating to contemporary political structures. The data might also indicate that it is necessary to socialize the inhabitants of lower-class communities so that they can perform roles and occupy statuses in larger and more impersonal groups than they have hitherto experienced.

Persons living in slum areas have traditionally maintained a separation between the intimate social group to which they are related by ethnic, religious, and family ties and the larger, more impersonal organizations which they seek out in time of need in order to fulfill a specific function. To these organizations they come as individuals seeking favors. In order for the groups which were traditionally favored and befriended by the urban political machine to establish once again their importance to that institution, it might be necessary for them to learn how to turn their purely social and familial groups into effective and visible secondary organizations that are capable of meeting with the machine and bargaining for their share of power and political representation.

The data might also suggest a need for new organizations, modeled after those that have operated successfully for middle classes in the community. If nothing else, this study might indicate that the political machines have left the lower-status communities and are concentrating their activities in middle-class areas. The effects of this lessening of activity on the part of the political machine on the lives of the residents of the lower-class community can then be assessed.

Appendix R-2

PROGRAMS OF EVALUATION

Mobilization for Youth

Two types of evaluation program are outlined here. One type has been designed to gauge the net effects of the total program. The second type has been designed to assess the effects of specific programs.

Programs of Net-Impact Evaluation

To assess the effects of Mobilization for Youth on the population of its service area, we propose, first, net-impact evaluation by employing regression methods to measure changes in juvenile conduct. This design is discussed, first, as it applies to official rates of juvenile delinquency and, second, as it applies in a modified version to adolescent misconduct measured by boys' self-reports. A second design is interpretative evaluation, which draws on survey methods to assess Mobilization's success in achieving such intermediate objectives as augmenting job opportunities, changing adolescent attitudes, and increasing community integration. It addresses itself to the means through which the goal of changing juvenile conduct may be accomplished. Thus, net-impact evaluation will measure the success or failure of the service program in altering rates of juvenile misbehavior; interpretative evaluation will trace the community process through which behavioral changes occur.

The design of research to evaluate the success of an action program requires careful consideration of the goals, targets, and time-expectations of the program. Intensive, short-term efforts directed at changing a few individuals in a limited number of ways certainly pose evaluation issues that differ from those posed by a long-term program seeking to induce a variety of consequences in a large population. Even though the several action endeavors of Mobilization for Youth have been described elsewhere in this proposal, we shall summarize them briefly here to focus the discussion on elements crucial for evaluation design.

Mobilization for Youth will introduce programs and services into a relatively large New York City area with the expectation of reducing juvenile misconduct. In contrast to programs which seek to affect directly only subjective factors hypothesized to have partial responsibility for delinquency, Mobilization will attempt to deal with the objective facts of the opportunity structure in which Mobilization area residents participate. Thus, programs are geared to augment recreational, educational, and employment opportunities for area residents. However, development of a youth culture which supports the utilization of legitimate channels to success goals depends on more than the existence of objective opportunities. It requires that youth become aware of changing conditions, that their aspirations be reshaped so that they consider these new opportunities desirable, and that pre-existing cultural obstacles to achievement be minimized. Mobilization will therefore also attempt to alter the perceptions, aspirations, and norms of youth in its service area in a manner progressively adapted to the improvement in their life chances. Thirdly, in order to ensure the stability of the resulting youth culture, Mobilization will attempt to provide a relatively more integrated community, in which adult behavior and definitions support those of adolescents and younger children.

The crucial dependent variable for evaluation is adolescent conduct. Since the program of social action attempts to alter both the hypothesized subjective basis for and the external conditions of conduct, evaluation of changes in only subjective reactions would clearly be incomplete.

The conduct relevant for evaluation is of two kinds. The first is "juvenile delinquency," a term which we shall employ in the narrow sense of the official statistics reported by agencies of criminal justice.

The second will be referred to as "misconduct," deviant acts which could be defined as juvenile delinquency were they noted and processed by criminal-justice agencies. Thus the second category subsumes the first.

Delinquency and misconduct must be measured by rates for the total youth population of the Mobilization area and its relevant components.[1] The anticipated reduction of juvenile delinquency and other types of deviant behavior is not expected to result merely from work with youth identified as delinquent or potentially delinquent, although such youth will be involved in various sponsored activities. Rather, programs are designed to diminish misconduct rates characteristic of the population by affecting the strategic conditions which generate misconduct.

The first task of evaluation, once appropriate measures of juvenile delinquency and misconduct are obtained, is to determine the relation between changes in misconduct or delinquency rates and the presence of the action program. This aspect of evaluation is referred to as the "net-impact" of the program. It links the existence of the package of operations in the area to observed changes in rates of misbehavior without examining the process through which change occurs.

The second evaluation task is to interpret those changes in juvenile-delinquency and misconduct rates that are inferred through net-impact analysis to be consequences of the program. At this level of evaluation we will note the degree of the program's success in improving objective opportunities for residents of the Mobilization area, its effects on community integration, and the subjective reactions of residents to changing conditions and to the programs themselves. We shall look for changes in the shared values and norms of adolescents, hypothesized as related to misconduct, and link these to the presence or absence of net changes in rates of misconduct. We will call these the intermediate objectives of social action.

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[1] Components of a population are the subgroups into which it can be divided for analysis. In the Mobilization area, age, sex, ethnicity, and socio-economic status are relevant criteria for isolating population components.

If net-impact analysis shows that juvenile delinquency and misconduct have declined in the area as a result of Mobilization for Youth, and if interpretative analysis shows the attainment of intermediate objectives, we will have evidence of a successful operation. On the other hand, if net-impact evaluation indicates no discernible change in rates of misconduct, interpretative analysis may provide an explanation of failure that will be useful to future endeavors.

Interpretative evaluation, while it focuses on various aspects of the program as they impinge upon the total population and various population components within the service area, will not furnish definitive evaluations of the separate programs included within the action package. The subprograms, which seem numerous as described in earlier chapters, in fact constitute closely interrelated endeavors. Interpretative analysis will therefore not attempt to distinguish the effects of separate programs. Furthermore, the attempt to evaluate each subprogram would be an enormous research task which might detract from analysis of the more crucial issues. As an alternative, we will construct independent evaluation designs for selected aspects of the program, chosen because of their special substantive or methodological interest.

Evaluation of Net Effects

At the level of net effects, evaluation seeks to measure juvenile delinquency and misconduct before the inauguration of social action and at its conclusion, relating changes to the presence of the experimental program in the area. It is not sufficient to observe differences in rates of misbehavior through time and assume a connection between them and the program; a decline in rates may be due only to a change in the area's economic characteristics, ethnic mix, or the like, without assistance from an action program. Similarly, an urban area's delinquency or misconduct rates can remain stable or even rise despite a very successful action program -- that is, without the program, rates of misconduct would be even higher. The evaluation question is: what difference exists between changes observed in delinquency and misconduct rates before and at the completion of the program and those which would have occurred over the same period of time in the absence of the program?

The "classical" model of experimental design illustrates the research problem. The model assumes two groups or populations, equivalent in all relevant respects except that one, the "experimental" group, is subjected to an experiment while the second, the "control" group, is not. Each group is measured simultaneously at the beginning and the end of the experiment. Differences between time-1 and time-2 measurements of the control group are due to extreneous factors which are assumed to affect the experimental group equally. This change is subtracted from differences between time-1 and time-2 measurements for the experimental group, and the residual change is the experiment's effect.[2] It is important to note that the control and experimental populations *must* be equivalent, at both the beginning and the end of the experiment in all relevant respects except those introduced by the experiment itself.

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[2] Herbert H. Hyman, Charles R. Wright, and Terence K. Hopkins, Studies in Evaluation: A Case History of Research on the Encampment for Citizenship, mimeographed, New York: Columbia University, Bureau of Applied Social Research, 1959.

The experimental model is not readily extended to action programs expected to have diffuse consequences for the population of one or several urban areas. Search for a "control area," matched with the experimental area in all characteristics a change in which could induce a change in the dependent variable, is not likely to meet with success. Furthermore, when action extends over a period of years, as Mobilization for Youth will, a control area perfectly matched at time-1 may no longer be matched at time-2. In view of the difficulty of identifying control areas for the 13 census tracts comprising Mobilization's district and the lack of assurance that even crudely matched controls would remain so for five years, we believe that reliance on such comparisons would not be justified. The potential inadequacy of comparisons introduces the danger of spurious differences due to non-program factors and, worse, a false aura of validity for what at best could be tenuous conclusions.

Isidor Chein has presented an alternative procedure for evaluating the net effects of territorially based action programs on juvenile-delinquency rates, which can also be extended to other kinds of data. After reviewing the difficulties of identifying control areas, noted above, Chein suggests, in effect, that urban "experimental areas" be utilized as control populations for themselves through the establishment of time-1 and time-2 expected rates of behavior for each area by means of a multiple-regression equation calculated independently at the beginning and the end of the experiment.[3]

The difference between expected rates at the two observation points (time-1 and time-2) measures change which would have occurred in the absence of the experimental program, as determined by observations in all the census tracts in the city in which the program is located. The difference between the actual juvenile-delinquency rates at time-1 and time-2 measures the gross change which in fact occurred as a result of the experimental program and extraneous factors. The change expected on the basis of regression predictions is then subtracted from the gross, leaving only change produced by the presence of the program and a small unexplained residual which can be estimated. Change in delinquency rates due to the action program can be expressed in absolute and relative terms for the total and component populations of the experimental census tract or, if the experimental district includes several census tracts, for all considered as a unit as well as each separately.

This design for evaluating the net impact of social action on rates of behavior in an urban area is superior to the alternative of utilizing roughly comparable control areas. It obtains a far greater degree of control over relevant nonprogram factors than matched areas can provide and, because predictions are made for the experimental area itself, the control and experimental areas are identical in population characteristics at the end of the program as well as at its beginning. The validity of such results is not affected even by radical compositional changes during the experiment which produce major changes in delinquency rates.

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[3] The equation expresses relationships between behavior rates and social characteristics of all census tracts in the city in which the experiment is located. Briefly, Chein suggests grouping on a priori grounds a large number of census-tract variables into five constructed independent variables or variable domains: disrupted families, socioeconomic "squalor," socioeconomic contrasts, juvenile population density, and concentration of underprivileged minority groups. The multiple correlation of these "variable domains" with, say, juvenile-delinquency rates can be expected, judging from previous research, to account for a very large proportion of the dependent variable's variance. The result would be a high degree of control of nonexperimental factors, a change in any one of which in an area would alter its delinquency rate. A complete statement of his evaluation rationale and methodology is presented in Isidor Chein, Some Epidemiological Vectors of Delinquency and its Control: Outline of a Project, mimeographed, New York: New York University, April 1961 revision.

The multivariate regression evaluation model will be employed by Mobilization in evaluating the net effects of its programs on juvenile-delinquency rates and misconduct rates in the Mobilization area.

Juvenile delinquency: The National Institute of Mental Health has provided initial financial support for Isidor Chein to carry out the multivariate prediction analysis of official delinquency in New York City. Work is in progress with data for 1950, 1957, and 1960 and will be completed after 1960 U.S. Census data become available for New York City census tracts. Chein expects to replicate the analysis for the year 1970 and agrees to duplicate it for Mobilization's time-1 and time-2 years.

Mobilization for Youth accepts the Chein analysis as a primary instrument for evaluating its program's net effect on official rates of juvenile delinquency in its service area.[4] The study now under way at New York University has objectives beyond the evaluation of Mobilization, but it will produce information necessary for that task. Since duplication of efforts cannot be justified, we have suggested to Professor Chein, and he has agreed, that a member of Mobilization's research staff maintain close contact with the details of this project so that, if Professor Chein wishes to turn his attention to other studies before 1970, his operation can be transferred without difficulty to our auspices if necessary. However, we will be pleased if Professor Chein wishes to continue his work on these issues. As is indicated below, we wish to attune other research efforts to his design.

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[4] The research also will employ multiple dependent variables, a reduction in each of which is a Mobilization goal. At this time Chein has decided to evaluate changes in rates of school dropouts and attendance as well as juvenile delinquency.

Adolescent misconduct: Official delinquency statistics are essential data for evaluation, but they have limitations which the most ingeniously designed research model cannot overcome. These limitations have practical significance for determining success or failure in terms of the program's theoretical base and, in addition, go to basic deficiencies of delinquency research.

Official delinquency rates are produced by a complex and little-understood process by means of which police and other agents of criminal justice select acts from a larger universe of possibilities and label them delinquent. Changes in the criteria for official decisions can merge with changes in the frequencies and varieties of misconduct from which selections are made in a manner that alters official rates. To put the extreme case, a change in police practice, given a constant (and unknown) rate of actual misconduct, can by itself alter the official delinquency rate.

For example, the kind of accommodation developed between program representatives and enforcement officials can either increase or decrease official rates of juvenile delinquency. If certain adolescents who misbehave are directed to the new services in the area rather than being processed officially, as they would have been before Mobilization, official rates of delinquency will be reduced. If, on the other hand, police tend to go "by the book" to a greater extent than formerly, official rates will increase.

The presence of Mobilization for Youth in the Lower East Side also can affect juvenile-delinquency rates by stimulating public interest in the district. After all, Mobilization will be the most heavily financed local delinquency-control project in New York City. It is reasonable to expect that the program and indications of its results will be watched closely — that incidents and activities in Mobilization's area will receive much publicity. Law-enforcement officials are sensitive to the public visibility of delinquency problems. Criteria for decisions about processing misconduct officially, as well as about assigning manpower to the area, can change as a consequence of prolonged publicity.

Reducing official rates of juvenile delinquency by changing the official processing of adolescents who misbehave is clearly not a major objective of Mobilization for Youth, which seeks to reduce rates of *misconduct* in the adolescent population. What is required is either a method of measuring police activity *vis-a-vis* adolescent behavior or a method of measuring adolescent misconduct independent of official action. The second alternative is, under New York City conditions, the more feasible of the two.

We have proposed elsewhere[5] a study of all 15-year-old males residing in 50 sample areas of New York City and in the Mobilization area, with the primary purpose of measuring misconduct through application of the Short-Nye scale of "reported delinquency" (Adolescent Misconduct) and other instruments. The same questionnaires will provide data on personal and family characteristics

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5. "Deviance and Its Definition: A Study of Adolescent Misconduct and Official Rates of Delinquency," Research Appendix R-1.

and on selected subjective variables.[6] The survey is an initial project of Mobilization for Youth and will be replicated at the end of the program.[7]

Application of multivariate regression methods to sample data will produce time-1 and time-2 estimates of the rates of misconduct which would have occurred in the service area in the absence of the Mobilization for Youth program. These can be subtracted from the actual rates of misconduct, determined from questionnaires, to provide estimates (limited by sampling variations) of net changes due to the action program. The net impact of social action on misconduct so measured is more closely related to the stated objectives of Mobilization for Youth than is the net impact on official delinquency.

Serious questions about the suitability of data produced by the Short-Nye Scale and other instruments discussed in Appendix R-I remain to be answered. Accordingly, we have planned a period of exploratory data collection and analysis. The survey of adolescent misconduct will not be committed to the expense of a city-wide sample until we obtain empirical justification for doing so. In the event that preliminary investigation indicates that the study of misconduct is not feasible, evaluation will rely upon Chein's analysis of official delinquency, school dropouts, and truancy, and upon the survey data discussed in the following section.

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[6] The survey will also produce official delinquency statistics specific to race and ethnic populations by processing the names of boys in the sample through police and court records. Race- and ethnic-specific rates of official delinquency in New York City can be obtained in no other way. The nature of the data to be collected and problems involved in obtaining them are detailed in "Deviance and Its Definition," Research Appendix R-1. Utilization of these data is discussed later in this chapter.

[7] If the findings of this survey disagree with conclusions concerning net effects on official delinquency, they will provide clues to relationships that interpretative analysis might otherwise overlook.

Interpretitive Analysis

Mobilization for Youth, like most action programs, seeks to bring about changes in the behavior of people by altering the conditions and sentiments which generate and support the behavior. Changes in such conditions and sentiments are the intermediate objectives of Mobilization, and an assessment of the success of Mobilization should include some statement about the degree to which these objectives have been met. From a certain point of view, the success or failure of Mobilization rests upon its success in attaining these objectives as much as upon a simple reduction in the rate of juvenile misconduct. Net-impact analysis, which is limited to the relationships between rates of adolescent misbehavior and the social characteristics of urban areas, can provide information on the basis of which it will be possible to assess the success of the Mobilization program in meeting its ultimate objective. Such an analysis, however, cannot determine the process through which change occurred by demonstrating changes in educational and occupational opportunities for the residents of the area. Nor can it show desirable changes (desirable from the Mobilization point of view) in youth perceptions, aspirations, or norms that support delinquent subcultures. Finally, if the program has no effect on misbehavior, net-impact analysis cannot suggest why the effort failed. We expect to use the youth and adult surveys to study these matters.

The evaluative use of the surveys, which focuses directly upon the intermediate objectives of the program, involves repeating the adult and youth surveys (see Research Appendix R-1) at a point in time when the full effects of the program should have been felt in the area.[8] The analysis will focus upon changes in residents' beliefs, opinions, and behavior during the years of Mobilization's activity in the area. Changes in these variables will be used to interpret changes, or the lack of them, in the rates of juvenile delinquency in the area.

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[8] If the decision is made to do a city-area sample, then all components of the population in the Mobilization service area may not be reinterviewed.

Model of evaluation: In the model which we will employ, the program will be presumed to be completely successful only if there is a reduction in the rate of juvenile delinquency and the survey results show that Mobilization has accomplished its intermediate objectives.[9] Should one or both of the requirements not be met, the model permits us to locate the probable sources of the failure of the program, as illustrated below.

MODEL FOR EVALUATING THE MOBILIZATION PROGRAM

Reduction in the Rate of Juvenile Delinquency:

		Yes	No
Accomplishment of Intermediate Objectives:	Yes	(I) presumption of complete success	(II) doubt about premises of program
	No	(III) success caused by unanticipated process	(IV) clear evidence of failure of program

If there is no reduction in the rate of juvenile delinquency and the program fails to meet its intermediate objectives (cell IV), the preponderance of the evidence would clearly indicate that Mobilization had failed. The task of evaluation would then be to detail the reasons for the failure by specifying the factors that prevented the program from accomplishing its intermediate objectives. An analysis of the reasons for the failure of Mobilization would provide a guide for those planning similar programs in the future.

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[9] In order to assert that the program was successful, certain additional requirements, detailed in a later section of this appendix, must also be met.

If there is no reduction in the rate of juvenile delinquency but the program does succeed in meeting its intermediate objectives (cell II), the premises of the program, which relate changes in certain conditions and sentiments to a reduction in juvenile misbehavior, would be called into question. Such an outcome would call for a re-examination of the presumed connection between juvenile misbehavior and restrictions on opportunity.

If there is a reduction in the rate of juvenile delinquency accompanied by failure to meet intermediate objectives (cell III), this would indicate that behavioral changes had occurred through an unanticipated process. Further investigation should provide clues to the nature of this process.

Illustrations of the plan of analysis: As we have pointed out, among the intermediate objectives of Mobilization for Youth are changes in the individualized services, create an autonomous, indigenous social-action organization, and bring about changes in the school curricula. Such changes can be demonstrated objectively. Data will be assembled and analyzed to reveal what kinds of jobs were created, how frequently residents made use of the services, who participated in the community organization, to whom the curricular changes were directed, and the like. These data can be marshalled to assess the degree to which Mobilization succeeded in accomplishing its intermediate objectives and related to changes in rates of juvenile delinquency among those segments of the population affected and not affected by changes in conditions.

Mobilization also seeks to change the beliefs, opinions, and attitudes of the residents of its service area. A replication of the adult and youth surveys which were conducted during the planning phase will provide us with information on such changes. At the present time, the use of the surveys for evaluation can only be illustrated, for the specific objectives of the program are subject to change as the program progresses (a matter for study in its own right), and the specific measures to be used must await tests of reliability and validity.

Some of the changes in sentiments which Mobilization hopes to bring about can be measured directly — for example, the perception of reductions in barriers to opportunity. Other changes can be measured only indirectly — for example, an increase in community integration. A third procedure will also be extensively employed, that of measuring concomitant changes — changes which, although not objectives of the program, should accompany certain changes which *are* objectives of the program.

1. *Direct Measurement - - - Perception of Reduction in Barriers to Opportunity:* One of the primary objectives of the Mobilization program is to break down the barriers to lower-class participation in the social and political life of the community. The program also seeks to make jobs more accessible by removing arbitrary or discriminatory barriers based on race, class, ethnicity, or age. In order for the positive consequences of the reduction of such barriers to follow, residents must *perceive* that restrictions on opportunity have been reduced. Hence, Mobilization also seeks to make minority-group members aware of the reduction of these barriers and of

the availability of special opportunities such as scholarships and training programs. If the program is successful in persuading members of minority groups that their opportunities for participation are greater, their altered perception should be reflected in questionnaire responses. A number of the questionnaire items concern the topic of restrictions on opportunity, some in a general way[10] and others with respect to the schools[11] or employment.[12] If Mobilization is successful in this respect, the proportion of residents reporting restrictions on opportunity should show a significant decrease when the results of the two administrations of the questionnaire are compared. If such changes do occur, we can then proceed to specify those segments of the community (e.g., Negroes, persons with low income, boys) in which changes in perception were greatest and least. We call this procedure "direct measurement" because the only means we have of ascertaining these changes is by asking people whether barriers to opportunity still exist.

2. Indirect Measurement - - - Increase in Community Integration: Not all the objectives of Mobilization for Youth can be measured directly. No series of measures can easily capture the essence of "feelings of accomplishment" or "a positive response to the broader aspects of the function of the school." The procedure to be used for such broad concepts can be illustrated in the case of community integration.

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[10] Items 17, 17A, 32.2, 32.3 of the adult survey; and items 45b, 45e, 59h, 591 of the youth survey. See Appendices R-3 and R-4.

[11] Items 12, 12A, 11, 32.7 of the adult survey; and items 23A, 23C, 60c of the youth survey. See Appendices R-3 and R-4.

[12] Items 26A, 26B, 21A of the adult survey; and items 34C, 60g of the youth survey. See Appendices R-3 and R-4.

Underlying many of the objectives of the Mobilization program is the objective of producing a more integrated community, as noted in Chapter II:

> It is the unintegrated community that gives rise to conflict gangs. It follows, then, that increasing the degree of community integration will serve to limit the excessive forms of conflict behavior. In this sense, the long-range target in a service program should be not the individual delinquent or even the conflict gang, but, rather, the community itself.... In the long run, the young will be far more responsive to an adult community which exhibits the capacity to organize itself, to manage its own problems, to impose informal sanctions, and to mobilize indigenous resources for young people than they will be to a community which must have these functions performed by external agents.

But how can community integration be measured? In this case, and in others like it, we shall resort to indirect measurement -- that is, we shall look for changes in attitudes and behavior which ought to occur as a consequence of increased community integration. If the community has become better integrated, we should find that residents stop and talk with their neighbors more often,[13] especially about problems in the community.[14] We should find a higher proportion of residents who know about various community services and organizations[15] and a higher rate of participation in such organizations.[16] We should also find that residents are more willing to intervene to correct misbehavior or a perceived wrong.[17] If most

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[13] Item 54, adult survey (Appendix R-3).

[14] Item 4E, adult survey (Appendix R-3).

[15] Items 9, 13A-4, 39, adult survey (Appendix R-3).

[16] Items 9B, 13D, 41, 53, adult survey (Appendix R-3).

[17] Items 35, 36, 37, 8, adult survey (Appendix R-3).

of these items change in the direction desired by Mobilization, we would then conclude that the community had become more integrated, even though we had not measured integration directly. We would go on to specify those segments of the community in which change was greatest and least, for the increase in talking to neighbors may be limited to one part of the Mobilization area, or the increase in participation in community organizations may have occurred solely among middle-class residents.

Use of the term "indirect" measurement may appear to suggest that this procedure is less desirable than direct measurement, but such need not be the case. Where direct measurement is more expensive and not much more accurate than indirect measurement, it is advisable to use indirect measurement. In addition, it often happens that a few aspects of a more general change are deemed to be particularly crucial. For example, although Mobilization desires to increase community integration, it may feel that unless the rate of participation in community organizations goes up, it has not really succeeded in integrating the community. In such a case, it is more efficient to concentrate upon indirect measures and forego the attempt to measure integration directly.

3. Concomitant and Unintended Changes: The interrelation of social phenomena is so complex that often in the course of changing a particular attitude or item of behavior, several others are also changed. These latter changes, which we shall call concomitant changes, also warrant investigation, for they provide additional confirmation that a change has taken place. For example, if the program is successful in stimulating interest in local issues, we would expect an increase in the proportion

of residents who read local newspapers,[18] for it is there that matters of local interest are discussed.

Closely related to concomitant changes are unintended changes. These are changes which the program has no intention of bringing about but which nevertheless do occur, either as a result of some other change or as a result of attempts to bring about some other change. Some of these unintended changes are desirable from the program's point of view, and they are a pleasant dividend. Other unintended changes, however, are undesirable from the program's point of view. These undesirable changes are crucial in assessing the success of the program. For example, Mobilization seeks, among many other objectives, to provide opportunities for finding satisfaction in lower-class life. It proposes to do this by buttressing "the values that legitimately inhere in lower-class life." One value which could be buttressed is the lower-class emphasis on ties of friendship and identification with peers. If the price of increasing adherence to this value, however, is an increase in admiration of the ability to "keep one's mouth shut to the cops," the success of Mobilization must be weighed in the light of the desirability of this unintended consequence.

The question of undesirable side effects is especially important in a program such as Mobilization, the objectives of which as is recognized in Chapter II, are inherently contradictory. For example, does the attempt to induce mobility strivings while at the same time maximizing satisfaction with present status lead to general confusion rather than to the pursuit of appropriate goals? How often does it occur that young people develop the "inappropriate" motivation? What are the consequences of the criteria by which it is decided that one person must strive and another must not?

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[18] Item 66B, adult survey (Appendix R-3)

Rather than leave such questions unanswered by focusing exclusively upon the degree to which program objectives have been achieved, we will attempt to answer them through a systematic search for the undesirable side-effects of the program.

Imputing changes to the program: In evaluating a program, it is not enough to show that desirable changes occurred and undesirable ones did not. It is also necessary to demonstrate that such changes came about as a result of the action program. This requirement is the bane of all attempts at evaluation. How is it possible to demonstrate, for example, that the development of more realistic aspirations among youth is a consequence of Mobilization's efforts? It is quite possible that such a change is a consequence of maturation, of the cessation or commencement of some event, of a transitory fad, of the activity of some program or service completely unrelated to Mobilization, or of a combination of two or more of the above. The classic solution to this problem is the control-group design, in which an equivalent group of persons does not receive program services. Hence any differences between those who have and those who have not received service are attributable to the workings of the program.

The striking thing about the control-group design, however, is the fact that it is so seldom applicable in a given research setting. The stumbling block in the application of the model is the word "equivalent." Those who receive service must be just like those who do not in all relevant respects; otherwise differences between the two groups may be attributable to a difference other than the receipt of the services of the program. For reasons noted earlier, we have decided to forego the attempt to impose a control-group design upon the evaluation of Mobilization efforts. There is the possibility of using the multivariate prediction model of evaluation (discussed earlier), but for only a few of the intermediate objectives of the program is there enough prior research to indicate what grouping of census-tract characteristics will account for a large part of the variance in program objectives. How, then, shall we impute causality to the program with respect to intermediate objectives?

With previous research as a guide, we must conclude that it will not be possible to impute all changes in intermediate factors to the action program. The best we can do is to amass evidence on the probability that the program is the cause of changes and hope that the weight of the evidence forces the conclusion that the program has produced the changes. Three approaches are of use in attempting this, and we shall, of course, employ all three.

The first is directed to those changes which should come about primarily through actual participation in one of Mobilization's programs. These are changes in skills (e.g., increased reading ability or the development of creative talents) or ~~in~~ certain attitudes (e.g., knowledge of the training requirements of various occupations or the choice of the parent as a role-model). In the case of such changes, we can compare those who have participated in the program with those who have not and attribute any differences to the program.[19] Where applicable, this procedure will be our chief technique for imputing causality to the program, for it approximates very closely the control-group design.

Many of the changes desired by Mobilization, however, are not of a type that can be brought about chiefly through actual participation in its programs. In fact, since Mobilization hopes to effect fundamental changes in the sentiments of Lower East Side residents, many of its programs are designed to influence people who do not participate in the program. All of the changes in sentiments which are supposed to follow from alterations in objective conditions can be so classified. It is this kind of change that makes it impossible to impute causality definitively. We shall therefore employ comparisons between those who have resided in the area during most of the life of the program and those who have resided there during only a short part of the program.[20] This technique is based on the assumption that those who have been exposed to the ramifying effects of Mobilization for a long time should show more attitudinal change than those who have been exposed for only a short time.[21] The technique is not a general solution to the problem of ramifying effects, but it may provide some data for imputing causality.

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[19] Since participation in the programs of Mobilization, with the exception of certain school programs, is voluntary, the comparability of those who participated and those who did not is called into question. Presumably a person who elects to participate in a program -- say, the Adventure Corps -- differs in some way from one who does not. This difference in predisposition to participate, rather than or in addition to the fact of participation, may be the cause of changes. This self-selection aspect of many action programs is at the root of the difficulty of devising an appropriate control group. Although the researcher may employ all manner of post-facto controls, and perhaps some prior ones, he can never be sure that he has controlled for the self-selection factor. In part, this is a problem for substantive analysis rather than an inherent methodological fault. The effects of a program are limited by the nature of those who elect to participate. If, for example, most of the programs of Mobilization appeal only to middle-class youth, then a crucial objective of the total program motivating lower-class youth to take advantage of opportunities opened to them -- cannot be met. In employing the technique of comparing the changes in those who have participated with the changes, if any, in those who have not, we shall, of course, employ as many controls as possible in order to obtain comparability between the two groups. We shall focus attention upon those who wanted to participate but could not do so for various reasons (sickness, demands upon time, etc.). We shall, however, worry less about whether the groups are comparable and more about the substantive question of who participated and therefore could have been affected by the program.

The third technique assumes that the results of the investigation of changes in rates of delinquency have established a high probability that the Mobilization program has reduced juvenile delinquency. If such is the case, we will attempt to show that changes believed to be the result of the program vary in the same way as do changes in the rate of juvenile delinquency. Although the technique links the intermediate and ultimate objectives of Mobilization, it offers, at best, minimal grounds for imputing causality to the program.

The foregoing presentation of the way in which we plan to use survey results to interpret the findings from the net-impact analysis has assumed that all components of the population will be reinterviewed. If a decision not to do so is made, the general outline of our procedures will not change.

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[20] This technique, however, may be affected by comparisons between non-comparable groups. In addition to the self-selection factor (people who move are different from people who do not), this technique implicitly compares newcomers with old-time residents in the area.

[21] On the face of it, this assumption seems tenable, but closer consideration qualifies it. Some changes in attitude can be expected after a very short time, with no increment in attitude thereafter. Other attitudes, such as interest in local issues, may be subject to an increment after a short time and a decrement thereafter. In each case, the possibility of these nonlinear changes in attitude will have to be assessed.

The source of net-impact results can still be specified; changes in conditions as well as sentiments can be documented; and the three kinds of measurement (direct, indirect, and concomitant) will still be employed. The obvious shortcoming of an incomplete survey of the community lies in our inability to study the effects of Mobilization throughout the whole community. What such a survey will lose in this respect, however, it will gain in our ability to compare changes in the Mobilization area with changes in the rest of the city. This helps immeasurably in imputing causality to the program.

The Evaluation of Specific Programs

The proposals for evaluation set forth thus far treat the program of services more or less as a totality. A plan of evaluation should, however, also focus upon the relative effectiveness of various specific services within the total program. We propose to approach this problem in two ways. First, by developing various forms for systematic record keeping (e.g., intake forms, disposition forms, process records, etc.) in each of the service programs, it will be possible to make evaluatory statements about a number of aspects of each service. The primary task here is to determine in advance the types of data to be gathered routinely by practitioners in the conduct of their daily operations. Second, some of the service programs lend themselves to evaluation through rigorous experimental designs. Where this is possible, such designs will generally be employed.

Records-Development Unit

A large-scale action program requires a rational, economical system of recording its activities and making summary reports available to staff members. Establishment and maintenance of records is, of course, an administrative-supervisory responsibility necessary for the control and continuous evaluation of an internally diverse program such as Mobilization for Youth. Development of communication systems between Mobilization and participating programs directed by independent agencies is likewise a function of the administration of the several agencies, together with the liaison committees established to coordinate activities.

We suggest, however, that Mobilization for Youth's evaluative research responsibility requires particular attention to the development of standardized, routine recording and communicating systems. We propose, therefore, the establishment, prior to the inauguration of action endeavors, of a Records Development Unit to help administrators and supervisors in planning for the record-keeping systems which will provide the data necessary for evaluation. During the action phase this unit will also be responsible for periodic inspection of records, assembling special data on program developments, and assessing and reporting relevant changes in the project community.

Contributions of a Records-Development Unit might include methods of recording intake, attendance, and process data; analyzing special professional issues; inspecting records; and the like. Specific innovations cannot of course be predicted here.

Intake data: A question for every experimental program is whether or not it serves its target population. Often this question cannot be answered definitively or, if answered in the negative, the information arrives too late in the history of a short-term project for administrators to change their practices.

One of the central themes of our action program is the need for adapting service-giving systems and systems of professional technology to the characteristics of the clients to be served. We have noted in some detail that services, if they are to be effective, must be organized and structured in a way that makes them congenial to those for whom the services are intended. In this connection, we noted particularly that programs of community organization, social group work, social casework, and formal education which are designed to help low-income groups, often turn out to be incompatible with the attitudes, values, and behavioral patterns of these groups. As a consequence, a high degree of self-selection occurs, and thus the groups which ultimately participate in the services differ from those for which the services were intended.

We have emphasized the necessity of reaching the most socially deprived and disabled groups in the project area -- the low-income newcomers (Puerto Ricans and Negroes, especially), the unskilled, irregularly employed groups. These groups often do not become involved in social services, partly because of socially induced attitudes of defeat, and partly because the services are not attractive and congenial to them. If the Mobilization program is to succeed, we must overcome these problems. Initially, we must ensure that these low-income groups, rather than other groups, are involved in the program.

Two methods customarily used to assess the extent to which a service reaches the groups it has been designed to serve, are special surveys of program participants and analysis of intake statistics concerning such individual characteristics as age, sex, color, and the like. The survey approach is costly and so time-consuming that it often delays changes in recruitment procedures. Intake statistics too often produce data not entirely sufficient to answer the question at issue.

Mobilization for Youth certainly will want to know the age, sex, ethnic, and SES distributions of children and adults served by or participating in its various programs. The Records Development Unit will work with administrators and supervisors in developing a standard list of such characteristics, useful for both action and evaluation, which will be obtained for all program participants. However, such data alone will not clearly identify the residents of the Lower East Side which certain of Mobilization's subprograms most want to reach. To give one example, we want to involve lower-class children and adults who are not oriented to the middle class as well as those who are. If intake statistics indicate that individuals with low incomes are underrepresented in programs, administrators will be alerted to the need to revise recruitment procedures. If, on the other hand, low-income individuals are using programs in large numbers, the question of class orientation will still be moot. Participants may be largely drawn from residents with aspirations toward the middle class, or they may be from a potentially more stable lower-class population.

A partial answer to this question usually emerges over a period of time from interactions of staff members with participants. However, the information often comes too late. The needs of the action staff for immediate assessment and of the research staff for systematic data suggests that intake interviews should routinely incorporate such information.

Prolonged intake interviews would be tangential to the main goals of social action and a burden to the action staff; they also could discourage people from joining programs. An alternative possibility is that the

Records Development Unit will be able to develop, from questionnaire items employed in our community surveys, brief intake instruments pertinent to the issue of class of orientation. Utilization of such a standardized instrument, in conjunction with data on survey responses for the area as a whole, would provide data permitting rapid administrative evaluation of the effectiveness of recruitment procedures. It would also provide the research staff with systematic information making it possible to determine the degree of Mobilization's success in reaching target populations.

Class of orientation is only one of several factors related to Mobilization's service goals. The Records Development Unit will be responsible for defining these factors, working with the action staff, and for developing means of collecting systematic information bearing on them.

Attendance information: A second essential group of records pertains to attendance. We include here not only counts of the number present at, say, a group-work session, but also information concerning the consistency of participation of various categories of people and the dropouts that inevitably occur, whatever the program.

The Records Development Unit will assist the action staff in setting up an efficient attendance record system. It will also explore the possibility of establishing routine ways of assessing reasons for withdrawal from participation.

Because the Lower East Side contains a residentially mobile population, many dropouts will result from families' leaving the neighborhood. It may be possible to estimate dropouts due to residential mobility from the "in-and-out" books maintained by each of the public schools. These books record movement of children (and families with children) from the Lower East Side to other sections of New York City and elsewhere. The information obtained from these books would be useful to action administrators in evaluating dropout rates and would also provide the evaluation staff with a list of adolescents who had moved in and out of the Lower East Side during the period of service. The names could then be processed through police, court, and Social Service Exchange records for information on delinquency and contacts with social agencies. If such data were not assembled, evaluation would have to rely on incomplete information concerning the behavior and adjustments of individuals involved in Mobilization's programs.

Progress records: The content of the running records of casework, group-work and community-organization programs will vary considerably, depending upon the nature of the service and the clientele. The Records Development Unit will assist the action staff in defining the types of material to be gathered in such records, including a description of the clients (this merges with intake data), the service process, and the workers' judgments of outcome. The emphasis here is on developing means for reliable description of developing situations with standards of detail which will permit comparisons of running records between workers in the same program and between different programs.

It is recognized that process records are sensitive instruments the primary purpose of which is to enable workers to make sound judgments concerning work problems, and that research interests cannot take priority. The emphasis, rather, is on giving assistance to the action staff in developing and maintaining systematic accounts.

Analysis of special professional issues: Systematic running records can provide information about special problems that appear in the course of a program and also basic data for making judgments about the utility of innovative professional techniques. We expect that action administrators and supervisors will encounter many special problems about which they will want information on which to base decisions. We also anticipate recurring administrative needs to judge the efficacy of experimental action techniques. The Records Development Unit will be available to assemble the data required, insofar as it is available in running records, and to assist the action staff in devising efficient ways of gathering data about unanticipated developments.

If systematic running records are kept throughout the program, they will constitute a rich source of data for case-process analyses. The development of running records which will allow special studies of these varieties are especially desirable when new techniques are being tested.

Inspection of records: The Records Development Unit will inspect intake, attendance, and running records periodically, to assist supervisors and workers in maintaining systematic and comparable reports. The diversity of programs requires a centralized inspection program to maintain data suitable for program comparisons.

Independent activities: Records Development Unit will also perform activities independent of the action staff, most of which will provide information directly relevant to action issues. Among these will be presenting to the staff statistical information available from other agencies and assessing and interpreting changes in the project community. The Unit will also maintain files of information exclusively for use in research evaluation.

Public and private agencies in New York City, some of them in the Lower East Side, publish a great variety of statistical information which permits comparison of the project area with the city, borough, and other New York neighborhoods. For example, the New York City Youth Board continuously receives delinquency statistics from the courts; the New York City Department of Welfare makes periodic studies of caseloads; local settlements collect information about their service areas. A responsibility of the Records Development Unit will be to collect data of relevance to service programs, organize them in a way that bears on practice issues, and present such information to the staff. The Unit, in other words, will act as an agent for the action staff in assessing national, city, and local trends which affect day-to-day project work.

The Records Development Unit will preserve a limited number of records for the use of the research staff in evaluating the programs. A project such as Mobilization for Youth can be expected to encounter many incidents impinging on its program and service area; the research evaluation staff will want to have a file of newspaper accounts, investigation records, etc., to use in interpreting the possible influence on the success of the program of such extraneous events as highly publicized ethnic conflicts, political decisions which arouse public interest, and public criticisms of project activity. The Records Development Unit will act only as an archivist with respect to such events. Insofar as they directly affect the action staff, interpretations of such events should come from administrators rather than from the Unit.

Services to cooperating agencies: The services of the Records Development Unit will be available to independent agencies participating in Mobilization's programs. The development of standardized record systems would benefit all agencies involved in a common undertaking. However, the Unit will recognize the independence of these agencies and will provide assistance on requests received through formal liaison channels.

Experimental Approaches

As we noted earlier, a number of specific services in the Mobilization program lend themselves to evaluation by rigorous experimental methods. It is, of course, somewhat premature to present details of design, for evaluatory procedures will have to depend upon the problems and difficulties encountered in actually getting a given service under way. We can, however, refer generally to the way in which we propose to evaluate such programs.

In some instances, our program of basic research will be of great value in permitting us to evaluate specific services. For example, we noted in an earlier section that we propose to conduct a study of the process of social reintegration of juvenile offenders released from training schools. The sample of offenders to be observed in the basic research will not be returning to the project area. In connection with the Neighborhood Services Centers, however, it is planned to provide special services to offenders returning to the project area. Services to such individuals will include efforts to buttress institutionally acquired motivation for conformity, intervene in the offender's social situation in order to provide access to resources essential to conventional adjustment, and provide training and guidance requisite to the optimal use of these resources.

The inclusion of this program in the structure of services provides a unique opportunity to test the adequacy of our theory of intervention to prevent recidivism. The data gathered on offenders in the basic research sample will constitute a standard against which the success of services to offenders in the project area itself can be judged. The basic research program should enable us to identify significant elements in the social-reintegration process; the service program will enable us to test the importance of these elements by determining whether significant changes take place in the reintegration process when these same elements are altered.

A second possibility for an experimental approach arises from the expectation that applications for service in a number of the program areas will exceed our resources. It may therefore be possible in some instances to randomize intake, thus establishing natural samples whose subsequent behavior can then be observed and compared with that of persons not selected. The prospect of such an approach is good in connection with the work programs, for it is anticipated that many more youngsters will wish to participate in the work programs than can be accommodated. The Homework Helper Program also promises to provide us with the possibility of a natural experiment. Once this program is under way, we expect that there will be a surplus of applications for both tutoring positions (high-school students) and tutelage (elementary-school pupils). It may therefore be possible to establish randomly selected samples in both sections of the program. This will permit us to determine whether persons selected to be tutors are influenced beneficially (progressively higher grades, fewer dropouts, etc.) as compared with those not selected, and whether those who are tutored show improvement over those not tutored. In addition, we may be able to control the pairing of tutors and tutored so as to determine the conditions under which the program works best. For example, suppose that we wished to study the relative importance of social-class orientation on the success of this program. Although both the tutors and the tutored will be drawn from low-income families, subjective class of orientation may vary. Thus we may ask whether a low-income elementary-school student who takes lower-class values as a frame of reference learns better from a tutor who has the same frame of reference or from one who takes middle-class values as a frame of reference. By varying the characteristics of pairs, in other words, we can determine the influence of important intervening variables.

In order to handle the evaluation of specific programs, we propose to establish a Program Evaluation Division. Work in this division will be coordinated with the basic research program and with the program of net-impact evaluation. The responsibilities of this Division will be twofold: to make continuing decisions as to which specific services should be evaluated, and to develop evaluation strategies in accord with the particular characteristic of a given service.

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Appendix R-3

THE ADULT SURVEY INSTRUMENT*

Mobilization for Youth

*This instrument is also available in Spanish and Yiddish.

The Community Survey Instrument

ENUMERATION FOLDER

CASE NO.__________

ADDRESS OR DESCRIPTION OF SAMPLE HOUSEHOLD:______________________________

______________________________ Apt. No.__________

NAME OF FAMILY:______________________________ Tel. No.__________

RECORD OF CALLS

Call	Date	Time	Interviewer	Result of Call
1				
2				
3				
4				
5				
6				
7				
8				

Notes:

If you have been unable to enumerate this household after three attempts (at different times of the day, or days of the week), fill out a non-interview report form, insert in this folder, and return to office immediately.

INTRODUCTION

I am ______________________________ of Columbia University. We're making a study of people's feelings about the community they live in, and I believe you got a letter recently saying we would like to interview someone in this household.

ENUMERATION

First we need a list of all the people who live here at this address. Who is the HEAD of the household? (Enter name, sex, marital status and age of Head on first line below, and continue listing all residents in the following order:)

A. Head's wife, if any.
B. Head's unmarried children, if any, in order of age.
C. Head's married children, if any, in order of age. List spouse and children of each before going on to next.
D. Other relatives of head, in order of age. List spouse and children of each before going on to next.
E. Persons not related to head, with their spouses and children.

ALWAYS LIST WIFE ON LINE FOLLOWING HUSBAND
ALWAYS LIST UNMARRIED CHILDREN ON LINES FOLLOWING PARENTS
ALWAYS LIST FAMILY BEFORE UNRELATED PERSONS
WHERE CHOICE, LIST IN ORDER OF AGE
LIST RELATIONSHIP, SEX, MARITAL STATUS AND AGE OF EACH PERSON BEFORE GOING TO NEXT

Have we missed any children or babies, or anyone else who lives here -- anyone [illegible] traveling, in a hospital, or visiting somewhere, or away on business or at sc[illegible] (IF YES, add to listing.)

Last Name	First Name	Relation to Head	Sex	Marital Status	Age	Order by Age
		Head				

PICKING THE RESPONDENT

A. GIVE CONSECUTIVE NUMBERS TO ALL MEMBERS OF THE HOUSEHOLD AGED 20 OR OLDER, STARTING WITH THE OLDEST PERSON FIRST AND CONTINUING IN ORDER OF AGE. PLACE THESE NUMBERS IN THE "ORDER BY AGE" COLUMN OF THE ENUMERATION TABLE ON THE OPPOSITE PAGE.

B. SELECT RESPONDENT ACCORDING TO CHART BELOW.

No. of adults in household aged 20 or over	1	2	3	4	5	6 or more
Respondent number in "Order by Age" column	1					

C. ENTER FULL NAME OF RESPONDENT ON LINE BELOW:

____

D. Let's see, according to my instructions here, I am supposed to interview (name of respondent). Is (he,she) at home now?

IF YES, BEGIN INTERVIEW

IF NO, FIND OUT BEST TIME TO SEE RESPONDENT

EXPLAIN THAT EITHER YOU OR ANOTHER INTERVIEWER WILL CALL BACK

ASK: May I have the telephone number here, just in case we have to call?

RECORD PHONE NUMBER ON FIRST PAGE OF FOLDER AND ENTER BEST TIME TO SEE RESPONDENT IN "NOTES" SPACE.

If you, yourself, will be unable to interview the designated respondent, fill out a non-interview report form, insert in this folder, and return to office immediately

TIME STARTED:____________

1. How long have you lived on the Lower East Side? ______________________

(If the respondent asks what you mean by the Lower East Side, or if he feels that he doesn't live on the Lower East Side, tell him that for the purposes of this study we are calling the Lower East Side the area "from 14th Street down to the Brooklyn Bridge, and from the Bowery over to the East River.")

IF THE RESPONDENT HAS LIVED ON THE LOWER EAST SIDE LESS THAN 5 YEARS, ASK "A", "B" AND "C".

A. Where did you live just before you moved to the Lower East Side? (Probe for what part of NYC, or if outside NYC, what city, state, country.)

B. In general, which do you like better -- living here, or living in (place mentioned in "A")?

Lower East Side	1
Former place.	2
Don't know.	3

C. Why is that?

---

2. Do you think of the Lower East Side as your real home -- the place where you really belong, or do you think of it as just a place where you happen to be living?

Really belong	1
Just a place.	2
Don't know.	3

---

3. In general, would you say the Lower East Side is an excellent, good, average, poor, or very poor place to live?

Excellent . .	1	ASK Q.4, P.4
Good.	2	ASK Q.4, P.4
Average . . .	3	ASK Q.4, P.4
Poor.	4	ASK Q.5, P.5
Very poor . .	5	ASK Q.5, P.5
Don't know. .	6	ASK Q.5, P.5

IF EXCELLENT, GOOD OR AVERAGE IN Q.3, ASK Q. 4.

4. A. What are some of the things you like about living in the Lower East Side?

B. In your opinion, what was the most important change for the better on the Lower East Side during the past few years?

C. IF ANY CHANGE FOR THE BETTER MENTIONED IN "B": Who would you say was most responsible for getting this done?

D. What are some of the things you dislike about living on the Lower East Side?

E. IF ANYTHING MENTIONED IN "D": Do you ever talk to any of your neighbors about any of the things you dislike in the neighborhood?

Yes 1
No. 2

SKIP TO Q.6, PAGE 6

IF POOR, VERY POOR, OR DON'T KNOW ON Q.3, ASK Q.5.

5. A. What are some of the things you dislike about living on the Lower East Side?

B. Do you ever talk to any of your neighbors about any of the things you dislike in the neighborhood?

Yes 1
No. 2

C. What are some of the things you like about living on the Lower East Side?

D. In your opinion, what was the most important change for the better on the Lower East Side during the past few years?

E. IF ANY CHANGE FOR THE BETTER MENTIONED IN "D": Who would you say was most responsible for getting this done?

6. Here is a list of problems that some communities have. (HAND RESPONDENT BLUE CARD SIDE 1)

   A. What in your opinion is the biggest problem around here?

   B. What is the next biggest problem around here?

   C. What is least of a problem around here?

	A Biggest	B Next Biggest	C Least
1. The transportation.	1	1	1
2. The public schools.	2	2	2
3. The city police protection.	3	3	3
*4. The way the teenagers behave around here. .	4	4	4
5. The way certain racial groups behave. . . .	5	5	5
Don't know	6	6	6

*RECORD HERE ANY SPONTANEOUS COMMENTS ABOUT No.4, IRRESPECTIVE OF WHAT IS CIRCLED IN "A","B" OR "C".

---

7. Do you think a local group of people getting together can do a great deal, only a moderate amount, or hardly anything at all about (each item below):

	Great Deal	Moderate Amount	Hardly Anything	Don't Know
1. Cutting graft in the national government?.	1	2	3	4
2. Cutting graft in the local government? . .	1	2	3	4
3. Improving the local schools?	1	2	3	4
4. Improving race relations	1	2	3	4
*5. Doing away with juvenile delinquency?. . .	1	2	3	4

*RECORD HERE ANY SPONTANEOUS COMMENTS ABOUT No.5, IRRESPECTIVE OF THE NUMBER WHICH IS CIRCLED.

8. There are many different ways of trying to better conditions in a neighborhood. How likely is it that you would take part in (each item below) -- you probably would, probably would not, or are not sure?

	Probably Would	Probably Would Not	Not Sure
A. Calling or writing a public official.	1	2	3
B. Joining a protest parade.	1	2	3
C. Visiting a public official with a group	1	2	3
D. Picketing	1	2	3
E. Joining a community organization.	1	2	3
F. Distributing leaflets on the street corner.	1	2	3
G. Signing a petition.	1	2	3
H. Meeting with other interested people.	1	2	3
I. Giving money to help.	1	2	3

---

9. Up to now, we have been talking about different community problems. Do you know of any neighborhood organizations or local groups that are trying to do something about these problems?

Yes . . . . 1* CONTINUE Q. 9
No. . . . . 2 SKIP TO Q. 10

*IF "YES", ASK "A"-"F"

A. Which ones? Any others?

B. Have you ever gone to any of their meetings or been connected with (any of) them in any way?

Yes . . . . 1* ASK "C"
No. . . . . 2** ASK "D" & "E"

*C. IF "YES" TO "B": Which ones?

**IF "NO" TO "B", ASK "D" & "E"

D. Have you ever been asked to go to any of their meetings by a member? (IF YES) Which groups or organizations?

E. Do you think (groups mentioned in "A") would like to have you become a member?

Yes 1
No. 2
Don't know. 3

F. Let's see, you mentioned (groups named in "A"). Would you say these organizations in general are doing an excellent, good, only fair, poor, or very poor job in helping to better conditions in the neighborhood?

Excellent 1
Good. 2
Only fair 3
Poor. 4
Very poor 5
Don't know. 6

10. A. In general, do you feel the public schools around here are doing an excellent, good, fair, poor, or very poor job?

Excellent	1
Good.	2
Fair.	3
Poor.	4
Very poor	5
Don't know.	6

B. Why do you say that?

---

11. Out of every 100 kids who go to school from around here, about how many would _you_ say graduate from high school? (Well, your best guess.)

---

12. Is there anything that would keep a youngster from a family like yours from getting as much schooling as he needs?

Yes	1*
No.	2
Don't know.	3

*A. _IF "YES"_: What do you feel that would be?

13. Are there any children in this household who go to school?	Yes . . .	1*	CONTINUE Q.13
	No. . . .	2	SKIP TO PAGE 10

*IF "YES" TO Q.13

A-1 What are their names?
A-2 What schools do they go to?
A-3 What grades are they in?
A-4 Does (name of each school) have a Parent Teacher Association?

A-1 Child's Name	A-2 Name of School	A-3 Grade	A-4 PTA
			Y** N DK
			Y** N DK
			Y** N DK
			Y** N DK
			Y** N DK
			Y** N DK

**IF "YES" TO ANY SCHOOL IN A-4, ASK "B" & "C"

B. Do you feel the PTA has a great deal, some, very little, or no say at all about the way the school is run?	Great deal.	1
	Some say.	2
	Very little	3
	No say at all	4
	Don't know.	5
C. Do you feel the PTA should have more to say about how the schools are run, or should it have less to say?	More.	1
	Same.	2
	Less.	3
	Don't know.	4

D. Since school began last September, have you talked to any teacher or other school people about (the child)(any of the children)?

Yes	1***
No.	2

***E. IF "YES" TO "D": How many times would you say that's been since September?

IF ANY CHILD IN THE HOUSEHOLD ATTENDS A PAROCHIAL OR PRIVATE SCHOOL, ASK Q. 14.

14. Why is it that (name of child) does not go to public school?

CHECK ENUMERATION SHEET FOR NUMBER OF PERSONS IN THE HOUSEHOLD WHO ARE UNDER 20 YEARS OF AGE. IF THERE ARE NO PERSONS UNDER 20, SKIP TO QUESTION 18 ON PAGE 11.

15. Now, let's see, there are ____ children under 20 in this house.

(IF THERE ARE BOTH BOYS AND GIRLS IN THE HOUSE, ASK "A" & "B".
IF ONLY ONE OR THE OTHER, ASK APPROPRIATE QUESTION.)

A. Most people would like to see children have a good life. Could you tell me what comes to mind when you think of a good life for (name boys in house)? Anything else?

B. (Most people would like to see children have a good life.) Could you tell me what comes to mind when you think of a good life for (name girls in house)? Anything else?

---

16. (IF THERE ARE BOTH BOYS AND GIRLS IN THE HOUSE, ASK "A" & "B".
IF ONLY ONE OR THE OTHER, ASK APPROPRIATE QUESTION.)

A. Of course we never know what children are going to grow up to be. But suppose you could have your wish. What occupation or job would you hope (names of boys) would follow?

B. (Of course we never know what children are going to grow up to be. But suppose you could have your wish.) What occupation or job would you hope (names of girls) would follow?

---

17. Would you say that the children in this house had a better chance, or a poorer chance to rise in the world, than anybody else's children?

Just as good. 1
Better. 2*
Poorer. 3*
Don't know. 4

*A. IF "BETTER" OR "POORER": Why do you say that?

ASK EVERYBODY

18. About how much schooling do you think most young men need these days to get along well in the world?

---

19. Generally, when you think about the people in this neighborhood, would you say that they are getting ahead, trying to get ahead but finding it very difficult, or are they contented as they are?

Getting ahead	1
Trying but finding difficult.	2
Contented as they are	3
Don't know.	4

---

20. Generally, when you think about your own friends and relatives, would you say that they are getting ahead, trying to get ahead but finding it very difficult, or are they contented as they are?

Getting ahead	1
Trying but finding difficult.	2
Contented as they are	3
Don't know.	4

---

21. And how about yourself?

Getting ahead.	1
Trying but finding difficult.	2*
Contented as you are.	3
Don't know.	4

*A. IF "TRYING BUT FINDING DIFFICULT": What would you say is making it difficult?

---

22. When we talk about getting ahead, or rising in the world, what sort of things come to mind? (What does getting ahead mean to you?) Anything else?

23. Suppose some outstanding young man asked your advice on what would be one of the best occupations to aim toward. What one occupation do you think you would advise him toward?

---

24. Now I'd like to tell you a little story and get your opinion on it.

Suppose some young man from this neighborhood asked your advice on whether he should take a new job or not. The new job, he tells you, means that he will have to see much less of his parents and neighborhood friends. On the other hand, he feels that the new job offers him a chance to have a new way of life and respectability. The new job pays the same as the one he has now. What would you advise him to do --

Keep his old job and thereby keep his ties to his parents and neighborhood friends. 1

Or take the new job offering him a new way of life and respectability?. 2

Don't know. 3

---

25. What do you think is the most important single thing for a young man to consider when he is deciding on the kind of work he wants to do?

ASK "A" ONLY IF REPLY TO Q.25 IS IN FINANCIAL TERMS -- PAY, INCOME, FINANCIAL SECURITY, ETC.

A. Suppose this young man is sure of a fairly good income. Aside from that, what do you think is the most important single thing for him to consider when deciding upon the kind of work he wants to do?

26. Do you think that today a young man with thrift, ability, and ambition has the opportunity to rise in the world, own his own home, and earn $10,000 a year?

Yes	1
No	2
Don't know	3

A. Out of 100 young men around here, how many do you think will make it? (Well, take a guess.)

B. What are some reasons why the others wouldn't make it?

---

27. Do you think most successful people were able to get ahead because of their ability, hard work, luck or pull? (If more than one answer is given, ask the respondent "Which is most important?)

Ability	1
Hard work	2
Luck	3
Pull	4
Other (specify)	5
Don't know	6

---

28. Which one of the following jobs would you be most likely to take if you had the chance --

A poor paying job that's secure	1
A job with good pay, but a 50-50 chance of losing it	2
Or a job with very high pay, but a great risk of losing it?	3
Don't know	4

29. Now I am going to ask you what you think of different kinds of jobs. Some of these jobs are not too well known, but that's all right; just tell me any that you don't know about when I come to them.

For example, a doctor -- would you say being a doctor is an excellent job, good job, average, below average, or poor job?

(READ SLOWLY)

Now when you said that, you were thinking of doctors in general, and not a particular doctor you know, right? (IF THE RESPONDENT IS THINKING OF A PERSON HE KNOWS WHO HOLDS THE JOB ASK ABOUT THE JOB IN GENERAL.)

Here's a card with the different answer categories on it. (HAND RESPONDENT BLUE CARD, SIDE 2) This will save me from repeating them each time.(ALLOW R.TIME TO READ CARD)

Now how about a garbage collector -- would you say a garbage collector is an excellent job, good job, average, below average, or poor job?

And how about a (CONTINUE WITH LIST BELOW)?

	Excel- lent	Good	Average	Below Average	Poor	Don't Know	Never Heard of it
Doctor	1	2	3	4	5	X	Y
Garbage collector	1	2	3	4	5	X	Y
Cartographer	1	2	3	4	5	X	Y
Clergyman (i.e.,minister, rabbi, or priest)	1	2	3	4	5	X	Y
Mail carrier	1	2	3	4	5	X	Y
Social worker	1	2	3	4	5	X	Y
Nurse	1	2	3	4	5	X	Y
Mayor of a large city	1	2	3	4	5	X	Y
Public school teacher	1	2	3	4	5	X	Y
Fence	1	2	3	4	5	X	Y
Owner of a factory that employs 100 people	1	2	3	4	5	X	Y
Singer in a night club	1	2	3	4	5	X	Y
Numbers runner	1	2	3	4	5	X	Y
physicist	1	2	3	4	5	X	Y
Dispatcher	1	2	3	4	5	X	Y
Big shot in the rackets	1	2	3	4	5	X	Y
Barber	1	2	3	4	5	X	Y
Machine operator in garment factory	1	2	3	4	5	X	Y
Linotype operator	1	2	3	4	5	X	Y
Dope peddler	1	2	3	4	5	X	Y

30. When you say that certain jobs are "excellent," what do you think is the one main thing about such jobs that makes them excellent?

---

31. Here's a list of the jobs we have been talking about. (HAND RESPONDENT CARD 3) Which five would you say are the easiest to become?

---

32. AGREE-DISAGREE ITEMS. THIS IS A SELF-ADMINISTERED FORM UNLESS THE RESPONDENT CANNOT READ.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR HAVING THE RESPONDENT RECORD HIS OWN OPINION

Here is a list of some things people have said. For each one, I would like to know if you agree or disagree with that opinion. Sometimes you may feel you would not agree entirely or disagree entirely. But if you would agree most of the time, then tell me you agree. Of if you would disagree most of the time with that opinion, then tell me you disagree. If you are not sure about any of them, just guess. HAND THE RESPONDENT AGREE-DISAGREE ITEMS AND PENCIL. POINT TO THE AGREE COLUMN.

If you agree, then circle the "A" for agree; and if you disagree, then circle the "D" for disagree. POINT TO THE DISAGREE COLUMN. WATCH THE RESPONDENT COMPLETE THE FIRST ITEM.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR INTERVIEWER'S READING AND RECORDING THE RESPONDENT'S ANSWERS. INTERVIEWER MUST READ IF THE RESPONDENT CANNOT READ.

Here are some things people have said. For each one, I would like you to tell me if you agree or disagree with that opinion. Sometimes you may feel you would not agree entirely or disagree entirely. But if you would agree most of the time, then tell me you agree. Of if you would disagree most of the time, tell me you disagree. If you are not sure about any of them, just guess. INTERVIEWER READ ITEMS.

INTERVIEWER CHECK:

____ The agree-disagree items were filled out by the respondent.

____ Interviewer read items to the respondent.

AFTER THE RESPONDENT COMPLETES THE AGREE-DISAGREE ITEMS, TAKE THE PENCIL AND LIST FROM HIM AND CHECK IT OVER FOR ERRORS AND OMISSIONS.

THEN ENTER CASE NO. AT TOP OF FORM AND PUT IT IN ENUMERATION FOLDER.

CASE NO.________

DIRECTIONS: Put a circle around (A) if you agree most of the time.
Put a circle around (D) if you disagree most of the time.
Guess if you are not sure.

		Agree	Disagree
1.	A good education is essential to getting ahead.	A	D
2.	Poor people have just as good a chance to get ahead as anybody else.	A	D
3.	The members of different races and religions have just as good a chance to get ahead as anybody else	A	D
4.	If they want to. girls can rise just as high in the job world as boys	A	D
5.	Protestants have a better chance to rise in the world than anybody else	A	D
6.	Generally speaking, they have worse teachers in the public schools here than in other parts of New York City.	A	D
7.	In school, the children of all races and religions get treated equally	A	D
8.	Public schools in this area are too crowded	A	D
9.	The teachers here are really interested in the kids . .	A	D
10.	The schools don't pay as much attention to kids who come from poor families	A	D
11.	Teachers don't know enough about the kind of kids who come from this neighborhood	A	D
12.	Most people cannot be trusted	A	D
13.	What young people need most of all these days is strict discipline by their parents.	A	D

	Agree	Disagree
14. Since 1890, people's ideas about morals have changed a lot, but there are still some basic principles or rules that people should follow in their daily lives.	A	D
15. A few strong leaders could make this country better than all the laws and talk.	A	D
16. Nobody cares whether you vote or not, except the politicians	A	D
17. Prison is too good for sex criminals. They should be publicly whipped or worse.	A	D
18. Nobody cares whether you attend church or not, except the clergy.	A	D
19. No weakness or difficulty can hold us back if we have enough will power	A	D
20. People talk a lot about being decent to minority groups, but when it comes right down to it most people don't care how you treat these groups.	A	D
21. Cheating on income taxes is nobody's business but the government's.	A	D
22. What really makes doctors work so hard on a cure for cancer is the thought of the human suffering they will prevent, not the money or fame they will get.	A	D
23. Most public officials (people in public office) are really interested in the problems of the average man.	A	D
24. Most people don't really care what happens to the next fellow	A	D
25. To make money, there are no right and wrong ways any more, only easy ways and hard ways.	A	D

33. **Now a few questions about youngsters. About how many teenagers out of 100 here in the neighborhood would you say are juvenile delinquents? (Just your best guess.)**

---

34. **Here are some things that teenagers do in any neighborhood -- like fighting or using bad language. Some people believe that these things are serious and something to worry about, while others feel they are not serious and that it's just part of growing up. How do you feel about teenagers who stay out late at night -- Do you feel that is very serious, somewhat serious, or not serious at all?**

How about (each item below) -- Would you say that is very serious, somewhat serious, or not serious at all?

	Very Serious	Somewhat Serious	Not Serious At All	Don't Know Can't Say
Teenagers who stay out late at night.	1	2	3	4
Teenagers who use dope.	5	6	7	8
Teenagers who dress sloppily. .	1	2	3	4
Teenagers who curse	5	6	7	8
Teenagers who damage or steal other people's things -- like cars	1	2	3	4
Teenagers who pick on little kids.	5	6	7	8
Teenagers who drink	1	2	3	4
Teenagers who hang around in gangs	5	6	7	8
Teenagers who get into gang fights.	1	2	3	4

35. If you saw a teenager around the block and he was using bad language, do you think you would try to do anything about it?

Yes	1*
No.	2
Don't know.	3

*A. IF "YES": What would you do about it?

---

36. If you saw him damaging someone else's property, do you think you would do anything about it?

Yes	1*
No.	2
Don't know.	3

*A. IF "YES": What would you do?

---

37. If he were picking on a younger child, do you think you would do anything about it?

Yes	1*
No.	2
Don't know.	3

*A. IF "YES": What would you do?

---

38. Some people say that in this neighborhood there are people who bet on numbers. Do you know for certain that there are such people in this neighborhood?

Do you know for certain that there are people in this neighborhood who (continue with list)?

	Certain	Not Certain
A. Bet on numbers.	1	2
B. Take numbers.	3	4
C. Use marijuana and drugs	5	6
D. Sell stolen goods	7	8
E. Sell marijuana and drugs.	9	0
F. Steal for a living.	X	Y

39. Do you know of any settlement houses or community centers in the area?

Yes	1*
No.	2
Don't know.	3

*A. IF "YES": Which ones? (Any others?)

---

40. (HAND TAN CARD SIDE 2) Here's a list of settlement houses and community centers in the Lower East Side. Which ones have you heard about?

Boys Brotherhood Republic (BBR) . .	1
Boys Club (10th Street)	2
Boys Club (Pitt Street)	3
Christodora House	4
Educational Alliance (Edgies) . . .	5
Emmanu-El Brotherhood	6
Grand Street.	7
Hamilton Madison.	8
Henry Street.	9
Lillian Wald Recreation Rooms . . .	0
University Settlement	X
None of them	Y

If Respondent has not heard of any settlement houses or community centers in Q. 39 and 40, skip to Q.53, Page 23.

41. Do you or anyone else in this household take part in any of these agencies' programs, or use them in any way at the present time?

Yes	1	ASK A-B-C-D
No.	2	SKIP TO Q.51,P.22
Don't know. .	3	SKIP TO Q.51,P.22

A. Which agencies are used by this household? Any others? (Enter under "A" below)

B. Who uses (each agency)? (Enter names under "B" below)

C. On the average, how often does (each user) go to (each agency)? (Enter number of times per week, month or year under "C" below)

D. When did (each user) start going to (each agency)? (Enter year under "D" below)

A Agency	B Names of Users	C Frequency of Use	D Length of Use

QUESTIONS 42-50 ARE TO BE ASKED ONLY IF A MEMBER OF THE HOUSEHOLD IS PRESENTLY USING AN AGENCY. DETERMINE WHICH AGENCY TO DISCUSS IN THE FOLLOWING WAY.

If the RESPONDENT is presently using an agency:
1) Ask Qs. 42-50 about the agency he is using.
2) If respondent is using more than one agency, ask Qs. 42-50 about the one he uses most frequently (Col. C above).

If the respondent is NOT presently using an agency:
1) Ask Qs. 42-50 about the agency used by most members of the household (Col.B above).
2) If two or more agencies are used by the same number of household members, ask Qs. 42-50 about the one of those which is used most frequently (Col. C above).
3) If still unable to decide, ask respondent which agency he feels he knows best, and ask Qs. 42-50 about that agency.

Let's talk for a little while about ______________________________
(agency determined from chart and instructions).

42. Could you tell me a little about what (agency) does?
Probes: What services and programs does it offer?
Anything else?

IF USER IS THE RESPONDENT, ASK Qs. 43 & 44. IF NOT, SKIP TO Q. 45.

---

43. What part of the agency's services have you used? (What programs of the agency are you active in?)

---

44. While going to the agency would you say you made many friends there, a few friends, or no friends?

Many friends.	1
A few friends	2
No friends.	3
Don't know.	4

---

45. A. Generally, would you say the agency is doing an excellent job, a good job, a fair, poor, or very poor job?

Excellent	1
Good.	2
Fair.	3
Poor.	4
Very poor	5
Don't know.	6

B. Why do you say that?

46. Do you feel that you have a great deal, some, very little, or no say at all about the way the agency is run?

Great deal.	1
Some.	2
Very little	3
No say at all	4
Don't know.	5

---

47. Do you feel that you should have more or less say about how the agency is run?

More.	1
Less.	2
Same.	3
Don't know.	4

---

48. Have you ever talked to anyone who works at (agency) about the problems of the community?

Yes	1*
No.	2

*IF "YES", ASK "A"&"B"

A. With whom did you talk? (Get name or position.)

B. What did you talk about?

---

49. Have you ever talked to anyone at (agency) about family or personal problems?

Yes	1* ASK "A"
No.	2** ASK "B"&"C"

*A. IF "YES": With whom did you talk? (Get name or position)

**B. IF "NO": Do you feel you would ever discuss such problems with someone at (agency)?

Yes	1
No.	2#
Don't know.	3

#C. IF "NO" TO "B": Why wouldn't you discuss such problems with someone at the agency?

50. As far as you know, does (agency) have anyone who is trained to handle family or personal problems?

They do . . . . . 1 SKIP TO Q.52
They don't. . . . 2 SKIP TO Q.52
Don't know. . . . 3 SKIP TO Q.52

ASK Q.51 ONLY OF RESPONDENTS IN HOUSEHOLDS WHERE NO ONE IS PRESENTLY USING AN AGENCY

51. Did you or anyone else in this household ever take part in any of these agencies' programs?

Yes 1*
No. 2

*IF "YES", ASK "A"&"B"

A. Who used them before?
Which agencies did (you/they) use?

B. Why did (you/they) stop using them?

---

52. Here are some things that people have said about settlements or community centers and their staff. Would you agree or disagree?

	Agree	Disagree	Don't Know
A. They are a little bit too nosey sometimes.	1	2	3
B. They try to help people in trouble	1	2	3
C. Only a few people would miss them if they moved away	1	2	3
D. Sometimes they try to make you do things their way.	1	2	3
E. They are trying very hard to make the neighborhood a better place to live in.	1	2	3
F. They know a great deal about what goes on in the neighborhood	1	2	3
G. They help everyone to relax and enjoy themselves .	1	2	3
H. They are mainly for kids, and not for adults . . .	1	2	3
I. They sometimes don't understand the kids in the neighborhood	1	2	3
J. They serve mainly one racial or religious group. .	1	2	3

53. We've been talking about how much contact you have had with the settlement houses around here. Now I'd like to ask you about other organizations and clubs you may belong to.

Do you belong to any organizations like the PTA or church groups, political or business clubs, labor unions, fraternities or lodges?

Yes . . . . 1* ASK A-F
No. . . . . 2 SKIP TO Q.54

*IF YES, ASK "A"-"F"

A. What are their names? (Any other groups or clubs or organizations you belong to?) (Record below under "A")

B. Do you go to all of the meetings, most of the meetings, some, only a few, or none of the meetings of (each group named in "A")? (Circle appropriate code under "B")

A	B				
	All	Most	Some	Few	None
	1	2	3	4	5
	1	2	3	4	5
	1	2	3	4	5
	1	2	3	4	5
	1	2	3	4	5
	1	2	3	4	5

C. Are you presently an officer or committee chairman of any of these groups?

Yes . . . . 1** ASK D&E
No. . . . . 2***ASK E

**D. IF "YES" TO "C": Which ones?

***ASK "E" ABOUT ONLY THOSE GROUPS WHICH RESPONDENT SAYS "NO" TO IN "C"

E. Were you ever an officer or committee chairman of any of these (other) groups?

Yes . . . . 1#
No. 2

#F. IF "YES" TO "E": Which ones?

54. About how often would you say that you stop and talk with any of your neighbors?

More than once a day. . . .	1
Once a day.	2
4-6 times a week.	3
2 or 3 times a week	4
Once a week	5
Once every other week . . .	6
Less than twice a month . .	7
Never chat with them. . . .	8

---

55. Is there any group of people you get together with from time to time just to talk, play cards, go bowling, or something else like that?

Yes	1*
No.	2

*IF "YES", ASK "A"-"C"

A. How often would you say you get together with them?

More than once a week . . .	1
Once a week	2
A couple of times a month .	3
Once a month.	4
Less than once a month. . .	5

B. Are these people mostly friends or are they mostly relatives?

Mostly friends.	1
Mostly relatives.	2

C. In general, do these people live in the Lower East Side or do they live outside the neighborhood?

In Lower East Side.	1
Outside the neighborhood. .	2
Don't know.	3

---

56. When you have a difficult personal or family problem, who are you most likely to talk it over with? (If the respondent gives a person's name, ask "Who's he?")

Just a few more questions for statistical purposes and then we'll be done.

57. A. Here is a list of different income groups. (HAND WHITE CARD) Could you tell me which group comes closest to the total amount that all members of your family earn during an average week?

INTERVIEWER INSTRUCTION

> If the respondent can give only a yearly or monthly average family income, write down the figures and we will code it later.

1. Less than $25 a week . .	1
2. $25 to $34.99.	2
3. $35 to $44.99.	3
4. $45 to $54.99.	4
5. $55 to $6[illegible].99.	5
6. $65 to $74.99.	6
7. $75 to $84.99.	7
8. $85 to $94.99.	8
9. $95 to $104.99	9
10. $105 to $114.99.	0
11. $115 to $124.99.	X
12. $125 to $134.99.	Y
13. $135 to $144.99.	1
14. $145 to $154.99.	2
15. $155 and over.	3
Don't know.	4

FOLLOW-UP PROBE: This includes how much money you get all together from all sources, and before taxes and other deductions. Right? (IF NO, get correct income group.)

TAKE WHITE CARD FROM RESPONDENT BEFORE ASKING "B" & "C"

B. How many people have to live on this money? ____________

C. About how much money each week would you need in order to make these people comfortable and happy in the way you'd *like* them to be? $____________

---

58. A. Do you feel you had a chance to get as much schooling as you wanted?

Yes	1
No.	2

B. How many years of school did you *finish*?

C. ASK ALL EXCEPT SINGLE RESPONDENTS: And how many years of school did your (husband,wife) finish?

	B. Respondent	C. Spouse
None.	0	0
Some grade school	1	1
Finished grade school (8 years) . .	2	2
9th grade	3	3
10th grade.	4	4
11th grade.	5	5
12th grade (high school graduate) .	6	6
Some college.	7	7
Graduated college or more	8	8
Don't know.	9	9

59. What do you usually do -- work full-time, work part-time, keep house, go to school, or something else?

Work full-time.	1	*A, ***C,D,E,F
Work part-time.	2	*A, ***C,D,E,F
Keep house.	3	**B
Go to school.	4	**B
Other (specify)	5	**B

*A. IF "USUALLY WORKS":

(1) Are you employed at the present time?

Yes	1
No.	2

(2) During 1960, were you laid off or out of a job?

Yes	1#
No.	2

#(3) IF "YES": What was the total number of weeks you were laid off or out of a job in 1960? ____________

**B. IF DOES NOT "USUALLY WORK": Did you ever work full-time for pay?

Yes	1	***ASK C-F
No.	2	SKIP TO Q.60

***IF "USUALLY WORKS" OR "USED TO WORK", ASK "C", "D", "E" & "F"

C. What sort of work do you do (did you do when you worked)?

Occupation:

Industry:

D. Do (did) you work for a private employer, a government agency, or for yourself?

Private employer. . . .	1
Government.	2
Self-employed	3
Other (specify)	4

E. On your first full-time job after you finished your schooling, what sort of work did you do? (If the respondent already answered this in "C", write "See C" and omit "F".)

Occupation:

Industry:

F. Did you work for a private employer, a government agency, or for yourself?

Private employer. . . .	1
Government.	2
Self-employed	3
Other (specify)	4

60. ASK ALL EXCEPT SINGLE RESPONDENTS. CHECK HERE IF R. IS SINGLE . . ☐

IF DIVORCED OR SEPARATED, ASK "A", "F" & "G" ONLY, USING PAST TENSE

A. What (does, did) your (husband, wife) do -- work full-time, work part-time, keep house, go to school, or something else?

Work full-time. . .	1	*ASK B, ***DEFG
Work part-time. . .	2	*ASK B, ***DEFG
Keep house.	3	**ASK C
Go to school. . . .	4	**ASK C
Other (specify) . .	5	**ASK C

*B. IF USUALLY WORK FULL-TIME OR PART-TIME

(1) Is (he,she) employed at the present time?

Yes	1
No.	2

(2) During 1960, was (he,she) laid off or out of a job at any time?

Yes	1#
No.	2

#(a) IF YES: What was the total number of weeks (he,she) was laid off or out of a job in 1960? ________________

**C. IF KEEP HOUSE, GO TO SCHOOL OR OTHER:

Did (he,she) ever work full-time for pay?

Yes	1	***ASK DEFG
No.	2	SKIP TO Q.61

***IF USUALLY WORKS OR USED TO WORK, ASK D, E, F & G

***D. What sort of work does he (she) do /did he (she) do when he (she) worked/ ?

Occupation:

Industry:

E. Do (did) he (she) work for a private employer, a government agency, or for himself (herself)?

Private employer. . . .	1
Government.	2
Self-employed	3
Other (specify)	4

F. On his (her) first full-time job after he (she) finished his (her) schooling, what sort of work did he (she) do? (If the respondent already answered this in "D", write "See D", and omit"G")

Occupation:

Industry:

G. Did he (she) work for a private employer, a government agency, or for himself (herself)?

Private employer. . . .	1
Government.	2
Self-employed	3
Other (specify)	4

61. A. What sort of work did your father do when you were growing up? (If the respondent says he didn't live with father while he was growing up, ask question in terms of "the main wage-earner you lived with while you were growing up")

Occupation________________

Industry________________

B. Did he work for a private employer, a government agency, or for himself?

Private employer. 1
Government agency 2
Self-employed 3
Don't know. 4

ASK ALL EXCEPT SINGLE R's

62. Do you have any sons or daughters who are not living in this apartment? -- young children who are not living with you, or children who have grown up and moved away.

Yes . . . . 1* ASK A,THEN B
No. . . . . 2 SKIP TO B

*A. IF YES: What are their names?

ENTER NAME AND SEX OF EACH IN LISTING ON OPPOSITE PAGE BELOW, THEN PROBE FOR AGE AND MARITAL STATUS OF EACH

B. REFER BACK TO HOUSEHOLD ENUMERATION SHEET AND ADD TO LISTING BELOW ANY CHILDREN OF RESPONDENT WHO ARE 14 YEARS OF AGE OR OLDER

ASK THE FOLLOWING SERIES ABOUT EACH MALE AND NON-MARRIED FEMALE CHILD OF RESPONDENT IN THE LISTING. FOR MARRIED FEMALES, ASK ABOUT THEIR HUSBAND'S OCCUPATION (i.e., R's son-in-law). ENTER ANSWERS ONTO LISTING ON OPPOSITE PAGE BELOW.

63. What does (each child) usually do -- work full-time, work part-time, keep house, go to school (college), or something else? (Check appropriate column below)

A. IF KEEP HOUSE, SCHOOL, OR OTHER: Did (he,she) ever work full-time for pay? (Check appropriate column below.)

IF YES, ASK "B"&"C"

IF NO, GO ON TO NEXT CHILD

IF USUALLY WORKS OR USED TO WORK, ASK "B" & "C"

B. What sort of work (does,did) (he,she) do? (Enter occupation and industry in listing below)

C. (Does, did)(he,she) work for a private employer, a government agency, or for (himself, herself)? (Check appropriate column in listing below)

QUESTIONS 62, A & B			Q.63 (Check one)						QUESTION 63-A, B, C					
NAMES OF RESPONDENT'S CHILDREN	Sex	Age	Marital Status	Work full-time	Work part-time	Keep house	Go to school	Other (specify)	A.		B. OCCUPATION & INDUSTRY	C. WORKS FOR		
									Yes	No		Pvt. Emp.	Govt.	Self
1.														
2.														
3.														
4.														
5.														
6.														
7.														
8.														

64. A. In what country were you born? ______________________________

B. In what country was your father born? ______________________________

---

65. And what is your religion?	**Protestant. . . . .**	**1** ASK B**
	Roman Catholic.	**2** ASK B**
	Jewish - Orthodox	**3** ASK B**
	Jewish - Conserv.or Ref. .	**4** ASK B**
	Greek Orthodox Catholic . .	**5** ASK B**
	Other (specify).	**6** ASK B**
	None.	**7* ASK A**

*A. IF NONE: What religion were you brought up in?	Protestant.	1
	Roman Catholic.	2
	Greek Orthodox Catholic . .	3
	Jewish Orthodox	4
	Jewish - Conserv or Ref . .	5
	Other(specify).	6
	None.	7

**B. IF RELIGION NAMED IN Q.65:

Do you belong to a (church, synagogue)?	Yes	1***
	No.	2

***IF YES, ASK C & D

C. What is its name? ______________________________

D. Would you say you are an active or an inactive (church, synagogue) member?	Active.	1
	Inactive.	2
	Don't know.	3

---

66. A. Are there any newspapers which you read regularly? (IF YES) Which ones?

B. Do you ever read the (each paper below not mentioned in A)?

	Yes	No
Lower East Side News.	1	2
Two Bridges News.	1	2
Union Square Savings Bank News. . .	1	2
Catholic News	1	2
Town and Village.	1	2

67. During the past year, have you or anyone in your family living here received any unemployment compensation? (Repeat for each item below)

	Yes	No
Unemployment compensation. . . .	1	2
Old Age Social Security.	1	2
Old Age Assistance.	1	2
Aid to Dependent Children. . . .	1	2
General welfare assistance . . .	1	2

TIME INTERVIEW COMPLETED ________

IMMEDIATELY AFTER LEAVING RESPONDENT,

FILL OUT INFORMATION REQUESTED ON BACK PAGE

INTERVIEWER REPORT

A. RESPONDENT'S RACE:

White	1
Negro	2
Puerto Rican.	3

B. INTERVIEW WAS CONDUCTED:

Entirely in English . .	1
Mostly in English, but partly in ___________ (specify)	2
Mostly in___________ (specify)	3
Entirely in___________ (specify)	4

C. Who else was present during the interview? (If household members, record names)

D. Were there any questions the respondent had difficulty understanding? (IF YES) Which?

E. Were there any questions the respondent had difficulty answering? (IF YES) Which?

F. INTERVIEWER'S SIGNATURE.

G. DATE OF INTERVIEW:

BE SURE CASE NO. IS ENTERED ON FRONT OF THIS QUESTIONNAIRE AND ALSO ON RESPONDENT'S AGREE-DISAGREE SHEET USED IN Q.32. THEN INSERT BOTH FORMS IN THE ENUMERATION FOLDER.

Appendix R-4

THE YOUTH SURVEY INSTRUMENT

Mobilization for Youth

Time Started: ______________ Place Interviewed: ______________

First, we would like to get some idea of the neighborhood in which you live, and the things that you do there.

1. Does your neighborhood have a name? Yes ____*
No ____

*IF YES: What is it's name? ______________________________

2. Aside from school or work, when you are outside of your neighborhood, where do you usually go? ______________________________

A. Aside from school and work, how often do you go outside of your neighborhood?

every day................................1
three to four times/wk. 2
once or twice a week....................3
once every couple of weeks..............4
or once a month or less....................5

3. How would you describe your neighborhood?

4. Would you say that your neighborhood was:

very nice.............1
fairly nice............2
about average..........3
pretty bad............4
very bad..............5
don't know............6

5. As far as living in your neighborhood, would you like very much to live there all of your life, probably like to stay, probably like to leave, or like very much to leave?

very much to stay all your life......1
probably like to stay................2
probably like to leave...............3
like very much to leave..............4

6. **Do you usually stay pretty much by yourself, go around with just one or two close friends, or do you usually go around with a regular group?**

pretty much by self.......1 Skip to Q. 7
one or two friends........2**Ask "C" & "D"
a regular group...........3*.and **Ask "A" - "D"

* If a regular group, ask "A" - "D"

A. Does this group have a name? What is it?

*B. How many people are in this group? ______________

** If one or two friends or a regular group, Ask "C" & "D"

C. How much do you go around with them? All of your free time, most of your free time, or some of your free time?

all of free time.......1
most of free time......2
some of free time......3

D. How long have you been going around with them? ____________________

7. By the way, how big is your neighborhood, if you counted it in blocks?

8. Let's talk a little bit about some of the things you do in your free time. How often do you go to the movies - every day, three to four times a week, once or twice a week, once every couple weeks, once a month, or don't you ever go?

	Frequency of Participation					
	every day	3-4/wk.	1-2/wk.	1/2wks.	1/mo.	never
a) go to the movies	1	2	3	4	5	6
b) watch television	1	2	3	4	5	6
c) listen to music	1	2	3	4	5	6
d) read books	1	2	3	4	5	6
e) go bowling	1	2	3	4	5	6
f) just stand around talking about things in general	1	2	3	4	5	6

	Frequency of Participation					
	every day	3-4/wk.	1-2/wk.	1/2wks.	1/mo.	never
g) go to dances	1	2	3	4	5	6
h) discuss world events and politics	1	2	3	4	5	6
i) go to parties	1	2	3	4	5	6
j) play cards	1	2	3	4	5	6
k) visit with your friends at their homes	1	2	3	4	5	6
l) participate in sports	1	2	3	4	5	6
m) go out on dates	1	2	3	4	5	6

9. Do you go to any settlement houses or community centers at the present time?

Yes ____1*ASK "A" & "B"
No ____2 Skip to Q. 10

*IF YES: Ask "A" & "B" (Obtain a list of the agencies, the frequency of attendance at each, the ones of which he is a member, when the respondent started going, and what he does at each.)

A.

Name of Agency	Attendance	Member	Started	Activity
		Y N		
		Y N		
		Y N		
		Y N		
		Y N		
		Y N		
		Y N		

B. Does this include all the recreation centers that you go to now - like school and church centers, and things like that?

Yes 1
No .....2 (Obtain and fill in above)

10. Are there any settlement houses, community centers, school or church centers that you used to go to - but don't any more?

Yes.....1*ASK "A" and "B"
No .....2 Skip to Q. 11

*IF YES, ASK "A" & "B"

A. IF YES: (Obtain a list of the agencies and the time when the respondent went.)

NAME OF AGENCY USED TO ATTEND	WHEN WAS THAT?*

*For the agency last attended, Ask:

B. Why did you stop going? ____________________

11. What centers do most of your friends go to? ____________________

12. Here are a number of statements people have made about settlement houses and community centers, and the people who work there. Some people agree with these statements, while others disagree. Would you agree or disagree that they are a little bit too nosey sometimes? /Repeat for each item/

Statements	Agree	Disagree	DK
a) They are a little bit too nosey sometimes......	1	2	3
b) They try to help people in trouble............	1	2	3
c) Only a few people would miss them if they moved away..............................	1	2	3
d) Sometimes they try to make you do things their way..............................	1	2	3
e) They are trying very hard to make the neighborhood a better place to live in.......	1	2	3
f) They know a great deal about what goes on in the neighborhood........................	1	2	3
g) They help everyone to relax and enjoy themselves.............................	1	2	3

Statements	Agree	Disagree	DK
h) They are mainly for kids, and not for adults..................................	1	2	3
i) They sometimes don't understand the kids in the neighborhood........................	1	2	3
j) They serve mainly one racial or religious group..................................	1	2	3

13. We would now like to find out something about how you get along at home. Would you say that you and your parents spend a great deal of time, some time, or hardly any time together?

a great deal of time....1
some time...............2
hardly any time.........3 *Ask "A"

*IF HARDLY, ASK:

A. Why is that?

14. In most families there are a number of little things that cause hard feelings or disagreements between parents and their children. Would you say that how late you stay out at night causes hard feelings between you and your parents a lot, sometimes, or not at all? (Continue with the list)

Issues	A lot	Sometimes	not at all
a) How late you stay out at night...........	1	2	3
b) How you spend your money.................	1	2	3
c) Being treated like a "baby"..............	1	2	3
d) Not doing work around the house..........	1	2	3
e) Not doing your homework..................	1	2	3
f) Getting and keeping a job................	1	2	3
g) The kind of persons you go around with....	1	2	3
h) Your brothers and sisters being treated better than you are................	1	2	3
i) Getting into trouble every so often.......	1	2	3

15. There are many families where children feel ashamed of their parents at different times. Have you ever felt ashamed of your parents?

often..............1
sometimes..........2
once in a while.....3
or seldom..........4
never..............5

16. If it were possible to change real parents into perfect parents, what would you change?

nothing..................1
one or two things.........2
a large number of things..3
or just about everything..4
don't know...............5

17. Do you go to school at the present time?

Yes .....1 Ask Q. 18-24
No .....2 Skip to Q. 25, p. 8.

18. What school do you go to? ____________________

A. What grade in school are you in? __________

19. Is there anything about school that you like?

Yes.....1* Ask "A"
No .....2 Skip to Q. 20

*IF YES, ASK "A"
A. What do you like about school?

20. Is there anything about school that you don't like?

Yes.....1* Ask "A"
No .....2 Skip to Q. 21

* IF YES, ASK "A"
A. What don't you like about school?

21. In general, how would you size up or rate the way you feel about school? Do you like it very much, like it more than you dislike it, dislike it more than you like it, or do you dislike it very much?

like it very much............... 1
like it more than dislike it.... 2
dislike it more than like it.... 3
dislike it very much............ 4
don't know.....................5

22. Do you participate in any special after-school programs such as the French club, band, History club, or basketball team?

Yes.....1 **Ask "B," "C," & "D"
No .....2 *Ask "A" only

*IF "NO," ASK "A" ONLY:

A. IF NO: How come?

** IF "YES," ASK "B"-"D":

B. IF YES: What activities do you participate in?

C. How often do you participate in these activities?

D. Why did you decide to participate in these particular activities?

23. If you had your choice, how far in school would you like to go?

get out as soon as possible..........1 Skip to Q. 24
eighth grade..........................2 Skip to Q. 24
through high school..................3 * ASK "A"
two years of college.................4 * ASK "A"
four years of college................5 * ASK "A"
graduate school and beyond...........6 * ASK "A"

* IF "THROUGH HIGH SCHOOL OR FURTHER," ASK:

A. Do you think you will be able to go as far as you would like?

Yes.........1 ## ASK "C" ONLY
No..........2 # ASK "B" & ## ASK "C"
DK..........3 # ASK "B" & ## ASK "C"

# IF "NO" OR "DON'T KNOW," ASK "B" & "C"

B. How far do you think you will actually go?

get out as soon as possible.......1
eighth grade......................2
through high school...............3
two years of college..............4
four years of college.............5
more than four years of college...6
DK................................7

ALL RESPONDING TO 23*A, ask "C":

C. What might prevent you from going as far as you would like?

24. How far in school do your parents want you to go?

get out as soon as possible.........1
eighth grade........................2
through high school.................3
two years of college................4
four years of college...............5
more than four years of college.....6
DK..................................7

Skip to QUESTION 29

25. When did you leave school? Year _______ Spring ____
Summer ____
Winter ____
Fall ____

26. What was the last grade in school you completed? ____________________

A. In what school was that? ____________________

B. Why didn't you continue in school? ____________________

27. Do you plan to go back to school some day?

Yes.....1 *ASK "A" - "D"
No .....2 Skip to Q. 28

*IF YES, ASK "A" - "D"

A. How certain are you that you will go back?

very certain..........1
not so certain........2
DK....................3

B. Why do you plan to go back to school some day?

C. How far in school would you go if you went back?

eighth grade..................1
through high school...........2
two years of college..........3
four years of college.........4
technical school..............5
graduate school, etc..........6
D.K...........................7

D. What might prevent you from going back?

28. How about your parents, do they want you to go back to school?

Yes......1
No.......2
DK.......3

ASK ALL RESPONDENTS, REGARDLESS OF SCHOOL STATUS

29. Here are a few statements people have made about the schools. Some people agree with them, while others disagree. Would you agree or disagree that generally speaking, they have worse teachers in the public schools here than in other parts of New York City? (Continue with the list.)

Statements	Agree	Disagree
a) Generally speaking, they have worse teachers in the public schools here than in other parts of New York City..................................	1	2
b) In school, the children of all races and religions get treated equally..............................	1	2
c) Public schools in this area are too crowded.........	1	2
d) The teachers here are really interested in the kids.	1	2
e) The schools don't pay as much attention to kids from poor families...............................	1	2
f) The teachers in school don't understand the kids from the neighborhood............................	1	2
g) The schools don't pay enough attention to children who find learning difficult......................	1	2
h) The schools don't pay enough attention to children who are smarter than average......................	1	2

30. Are you working at the present time? Yes.....1 ###Ask "E" - "J"
No......2 *ASK "A" & "B"

*IF "NO," ASK "A" & "B"

A. Are you interested in working at the present time?

Yes.....1
No......2

B. Have you ever worked?

Yes.....1 ## ASK "D" & ###ASK "E" - "J"
No......2 #ASK "C," then skip to Q. 34

#IF "NO" to B, ASK "C" & THEN SKIP TO Q. 34:

C. How do your parents feel about your not working at the present time? Have they asked you to get a job, do they prefer that you don't work, or don't they care one way or the other?

Asked you to get a job..............1
Prefer that you don't work..........2
Don't care one way or the other.....3
Don't know..........................4

##IF NOT WORKING NOW BUT HAS WORKED IN THE PAST, ASK "D" - "J"

D. When did you stop working? ______

###IF WORKING AT PRESENT OR HAS WORKED IN THE PAST, ASK "E" - "J"

E. How many hours per week (do/did) you work? ______

F. What kind of work (are/were) you doing? ______

G. What kind of business is that in? ______

H. How long (have/did) you (had/have) this job? ______

I. How much (do/did) you earn per week? ______

J. (Do/did) you contribute a part of your earnings to the family?

Yes.....1 continue with "K" & "L"
No......2 Skip to Q. 31

K. How much (do/did) you contribute? ______

L. How (do/did) you feel about contributing to the family?

31. How did you find out about the job?

32. (Do/Did) you like your job?

like it very much.............1
like it more than dislike it..2
dislike it more than like it..3
dislike it very much..........4
can't decide..................5

33. (Is/Was) the job useful to you in any way besides making money?

Yes.....1 *Ask "A"
No.......2

*IF YES, ASK "A"

A. How?

34. Have you ever thought about what you would like to be when you get older?

Yes.......1 *Ask "A" - "C"
No........2 Skip to Q. 35.

*IF "YES," THEN ASK "A" THROUGH "C":

A. What would you like to be? ________________________________

B. How certain are you that you will ever get to be a ______________?

very certain.......1
not so certain.....2
DK.................3

C. What might prevent you from becoming what you'd like to be?

35. Do you think school has helped prepare you for the future?

Yes.........1 *ASK "A"
No..........2 ** ASK "B"
DK..........3 **ASK "B"

*IF YES, ASK "A"
A. In what way?

**IF NO OR DK ASK "B"
B. Why do you feel that way?

36. What do you think you will actually be? ________________________________

37. If you had your choice, how much money per week would you like to be making ten years from now?

38. How much money per week do you think you will actually be making ten years from now?

39. What is the lowest amount of money per week that you would be willing to settle for ten years from now?

40. Now I am going to ask you what YOU think of different kinds of jobs. Some of these jobs are not too well known, but that's all right; just tell me any that you don't know about when I come to them. For example, a doctor -- would you say being a doctor is an excellent job, good job, average, below average, or poor job?

> Now when you said that, you were thinking of doctors in general, and not a particular doctor you know, right? (IF THE RESPONDENT IS THINKING OF A PERSON HE KNOWS WHO HOLDS THE JOB, ASK ABOUT THE JOB IN GENERAL.)
>
> Here's a card with the different answer categories on it. (HAND THE RESPONDENT CARD). This will save me from repeating them each time. (ALLOW R. TIME TO READ CARD)

Now how about a garbage collector -- would you say a garbage collector is an excellent job, a good job, average, below average, or poor job?

And how about a (CONTINUE WITH LIST BELOW)

	Excellent	Good	Average	Below Average	Poor	Don't Know	Never Heard of it
Doctor	1	2	3	4	5	X	Y
Garbage collector	1	2	3	4	5	X	Y
Cartographer	1	2	3	4	5	X	Y
Clergyman (i.e., minister, rabbi, or priest)	1	2	3	4	5	X	Y
Mail carrier	1	2	3	4	5	X	Y
Social worker	1	2	3	4	5	X	Y
Nurse	1	2	3	4	5	X	Y
Mayor of a large city	1	2	3	4	5	X	Y
Public school teacher	1	2	3	4	5	X	Y
Fence	1	2	3	4	5	X	Y
Owner of a factory that employs 100 people	1	2	3	4	5	X	Y
Singer in a night club	1	2	3	4	5	X	Y

	Excel-lent	Good	Average	Below Average	Poor	Don't Know	Never Heard of it
Numbers runner	1	2	3	4	5	X	Y
Physicist	1	2	3	4	5	X	Y
Dispatcher	1	2	3	4	5	X	Y
Big shot in the rackets	1	2	3	4	5	X	Y
Barber	1	2	3	4	5	X	Y
Machine Operator in garment factory	1	2	3	4	5	X	Y
Linotype operator	1	2	3	4	5	X	Y
Dope peddler	1	2	3	4	5	X	Y

41. What do you think is the most important single thing for a young person to consider when choosing a life's work?

A. FOR THOSE WHOSE REPLIES ARE OF AN ECONOMIC NATURE, ASK:

Suppose this young person is certain of making enough money. Knowing this, what do you think is the most important single thing to consider when choosing a life's work?

42. Which of the following jobs would you take if you had the chance?

a low income job that's secure....................................1
a job with good pay, but a 50-50 chance of losing it............2
a job with extremely high pay, but a great risk of losing it....3

43. Do you think most successful people were able to get ahead because of their ability, hard work, luck or pull? (If more than one answer, ask which one is most important?)

ability............1
hard work..........2
luck...............3
pull...............4
other (specify)....5
DK.................6

44. About how much school do you think most young people need these days to get along well in the world?

45. Here are some statements people have made about getting ahead. Some people agree with these statements, while other disagree. Would you agree or disagree that

	Agree	Disagree	DK
a) A good education is essential to getting ahead............................	1	2	3
b) Poor people have just as good a chance to get ahead as anybody else..........	1	2	3
c) The members of different racial and nationality groups have an equal chance of getting ahead...........	1	2	3
d) If they want to, girls can rise just as high in the job world as boys......	1	2	3
e) Protestants have a better chance to rise in the world than anybody else........	1	2	3

---

46. Now we would like to know from whom you would seek advice if you had each of the following problems.

ASK ALL RESPONDENTS ITEMS a - f

a) If you found yourself in trouble with the police ________________
b) If you were wondering about your future occupation________________
c) If you were having trouble getting along with adults________________
d) If you were having trouble getting along with persons your own age ________________
e) If you were having problems at home ________________
f) If things in general were confusing and disturbing________________

ASK ONLY RESPONDENTS PRESENTLY ATTENDING SCHOOL ITEMS g - i

g) If you were having difficulty with your school work ________________
h) If you were thinking about quitting school ________________
i) If you were having trouble with your teachers ________________

ASK ONLY RESPONDENTS NOT PRESENTLY IN SCHOOL ITEMS j - l

j) If you were unable to find a job ________________
k) If you were thinking about quitting a job________________
l) If you were having trouble with your boss ________________

47. In this question we would like to find out whether you feel adults around your block would try and do anything about teenagers that used bad language, damaged property, or got into a fight.

A. Would adults around your block try and do anything if they heard a teenager using bad language?

Yes.......1 *ASK "B"
No........2 Skip to "C"
DK........3 Skip to "C"

*IF "YES" TO"A," ASK "B"

B. What do you think they would do about it?

C. Would adults around your block try and do anything if they saw a teenager damaging someone else's property?

Yes......1 ** ASK "D"
No.......2 Skip to "E"
DK.......3 Skip to "E"

**IF "YES" TO "C," ASK "D"

D. What do you think they would do about it?

E. Would adults around your block try and do anything if they saw a teenager fighting?

Yes.......1 ***ASK "F"
No........2 Skip to Q. 48
DK........3 Skip to Q. 48

***IF "YES" TO "E" ASK "F"

F. What do you think they would do about it?

48. Now I'd like to ask you about some words and slang expressions that they usually don't teach in school, but that you may have heard on your own. If you don't know, why it's OK, because a lot of teachers wouldn't know either. For instance, what does the word, "Square" mean to you?

(CONTINUE WITH THE LIST)

Square ______________________________

Got Busted ______________________________

Single Action ______________________________

Burn ______________________________

Lifted something ______________________________

Some pot ______________________________

Pull a score ______________________________

A Runner ______________________________

Our turf ______________________________

A bag ______________________________

A piece ______________________________

A spike ______________________________

A fence ______________________________

A hustle ______________________________

To turn on ______________________________

Got heart ______________________________

The Snydicate ______________________________

Heist ______________________________

Game of Knock-Knock ______________________________

A Banker ______________________________

Pull a bomb ______________________________

A Booster ______________________________

49. Different groups or circles of friends admire - or look up to - different kinds of abilities in their members. Here are some abilities that are often looked up to. In the crowd you go around with, do they admire ability in outsmarting others a lot, some, or not at all?
(REPEAT FOR EACH ITEM)

	Ability	Lot	Some	Not at all
a)	ability in outsmarting others................	1	2	3
b)	ability in getting good grades in school.....	1	2	3
c)	ability in keeping one's mouth shut to the cops.	1	2	3
d)	ability in being hard or tough................	1	2	3
e)	ability in doing well in the job world........	1	2	3
f)	ability in making a fast buck any way that comes up.....	1	2	3
g)	ability in enjoying different kicks..........	1	2	3
h)	ability in making connections with some kind of racket....	1	2	3

50. Which one do you admire the most? (Circle letter on the left in Q. #49.)

51. Why do you admire the ability in ____________________?

52. Are there any other abilities in people that you admire a lot?

53. Besides admiring different abilities there are probably different kinds of people that you and your friends look down on - and definitely do not admire. What kind of people do you and your friends look down on the most?

54. Why do you look down on this kind of person?

55. I've been asking you about what you admire and don't admire in people at the present time in your life. Suppose I had been talking to you two to three years ago. Which ability would you have admired the most two to three years ago? *

a)	ability in outsmarting others	1
b)	ability in getting good grades in school	2
c)	ability in keeping one's mouth shut to the cops	3
d)	ability in being hard or tough	4
e)	ability in doing well in the job world	5
f)	ability in making a fast buck any way that comes up	6
g)	ability in enjoying different kicks	7
h)	ability in making connections with some kind of racket	8

*IF CHOICE HAS CHANGED, ASK:

A. How come you've changed?

56. What kind of people would you have looked down on the most two to three years ago? *

*IF CHOICE HAS CHANGED, ASK:

A. How come you've changed?

57. Well let's get back to the present time again. Of all the people you have ever known, heard about, or read about which ONE person do you wish you could be like?

A. Why do you feel that way? What is there about this person that you like?

58. Some people have said that there are people in this neighborhood who bet on numbers. Do you know for certain that there are people in this neighborhood who bet on numbers?

(Continue with the list)

		*	Not		**		
		Certain	Certain	A lot	Some	Few	1 or 2
a)	Bet on numbers	1	2	3	4	5	6
b)	Sell numbers	1	2	3	4	5	6
c)	Use marijuana	1	2	3	4	5	6
d)	Use drugs	1	2	3	4	5	6
e)	Sell stolen goods	1	2	3	4	5	6
f)	Sell marijuana or drugs	1	2	3	4	5	6
g)	Steal for a living	1	2	3	4	5	6

*IF CERTAIN ABOUT ANY PERSON, ASK "A"

A. About how many people who _______ do you know to talk to - a lot, some, a few or one or two?

**IF R. IS "CERTAIN" ABOUT TWO OR MORE CATEGORIES, ASK "B"

B. Which of these persons do you know the best (circle one letter on left)

59. New York is such a big city with so many different kinds of people that it is always easy to find two sides to every question. Here are some opinions which people have given recently. Some people agree with them, while others disagree. Would you agree or disagree that most people cannot be trusted?

	Opinions	Agree	Disagree
a)	Most people cannot be trusted..........................	1	2
b)	Since 1890, people's ideas of morals have changed a lot, but there are still some basic principles that. people should follow in their daily lives..............	1	2
c)	Teen-agers like yourself go to school because they have to - not because they want to..........................	1	2
d)	People like yourself work because they have to - not because they want to..................................	1	2
e)	Nobody cares whether you attend church or not except the clergy..	1	2

		Agree	Disagree
f)	Nobody cares whether you vote or not except the politicians..	1	2
g)	Taking a day off from work once in a while is O.K......	1	2
h)	People talk a lot about being decent to minority groups, but when it comes right down to it most people don't care how you treat these people......................	1	2
i)	Cheating on income taxes is nobody's business but the government's.......................................	1	2
j)	It's O.K. to steal if you can get away with it and not get caught..	1	2
k)	Most people you know are tempted to break the law......	1	2
l)	There is little chance for getting ahead unless a person has pull......................................	1	2
m)	Sometimes a person has to be dishonest to get rich.....	1	2
n)	Most public officials are really interested in the problems of the average man...........................	1	2
o)	Most people don't really care what happens to the next fellow...	1	2
p)	To make money, there are no right and wrong ways any more, only easy ways and hard ways....................	1	2
q)	Success on a job depends mainly on the kind of boss you happen to get....................................	1	2
r)	Almost anything can be fixed in the courts if you have enough money or know the right person.................	1	2
s)	Have fun today and let tomorrow take care of itself....	1	2
t)	It doesn't hurt a person to take a day off from school once in a while.....................................	1	2

60. Some people have said that there is prejudice and discrimination against different nationalities and races in this general neighborhood. Have you ever felt that there was any prejudice or discrimination by some people who sell things in stores? (Repeat for each item)

	Source	Y	N
a)	Some people who sell things in stores......................	1	2
b)	Some restaurants and lunch counters........................	1	2

	Source	Y	N
c)	Some teachers in school....................................	1	2
d)	Some bowling alleys and dance halls........................	1	2
e)	Some workers in community centers..........................	1	2
f)	Some people who live around your block.....................	1	2
g)	Some people who hire for jobs..............................	1	2
h)	Some people in barber shops or beauty parlors..............	1	2
i)	Some policemen or project cops.............................	1	2
j)	Some of the other students in school.......................	1	2

JUST A FEW MORE QUESTIONS FOR STATISTICAL PURPOSES AND THEN WE'LL BE THROUGH

61. Where were you born?

NYC...............1
Puerto Rico.......2
Other (Specify)...3 ____________________

62. How old were you on your last birthday? ____________________

63. In growing up, most young people do things which could get them in some kind of trouble. Have you ever stayed out past one o'clock in the morning on week days? (Repeat for each item with prefix, "Have you ever," and then obtain frequency if not volunteered.)

	Behavior	Lots	Some	Few	1or2	No	Age at Onset	Last Time
a)	Stayed out past one o'clock in the morning on week days...........	1	2	3	4	5	____	____
b)	Skipped school without a good excuse.............................	1	2	3	4	5	____	____
c)	Told a lie, even a small one........	1	2	3	4	5	____	____
d)	Purposely annoyed teachers, community center workers or other adults...	1	2	3	4	5	____	____
e)	Taken part in any kind of fist-fights............................	1	2	3	4	5	____	____
f)	Taken part in gang fights...........	1	2	3	4	5	____	____
g)	Defied your parents' authority to their face..........................	1	2	3	4	5	____	____
h)	Purposely damaged or destroyed public or private property that did not belong to you..................	1	2	3	4	5	____	____

	Behavior	Lots	Some	Few	1or2	No	Age at Onset	Last Time
i)	Gotten high on beer or whiskey......	1	2	3	4	5		
j)	Tried some marijuana................	1	2	3	4	5		
k)	Carried a knife, gun, or some other weapon.............................	1	2	3	4	5		
l)	Forced kids to give you money.......	1	2	3	4	5		
m)	Taken things from a store...........	1	2	3	4	5		
n)	Sold stolen goods...................	1	2	3	4	5		
o)	Taken a car for a joy-ride or had a ride in a stolen car..............	1	2	3	4	5		
p)	Conned people into giving you money...............................	1	2	3	4	5		
q)	Tried using some drugs..............	1	2	3	4	5		
r)	Worked for a numbers or bookie operator............................	1	2	3	4	5		
s)	Taken part in a stick-up............	1	2	3	4	5		
t)	Broken into an apartment or house...	1	2	3	4	5		
u)	Sold some kind of drugs or marijuana...........................	1	2	3	4	5		

IF R. HAS DONE ANY OF THESE, ASK FOR EACH ITEM:

A. How old were you when you first started doing this?

B. When was the last time you did this? (Nearest Season & Year)

C. Were you ever stopped by the police for anything involving any of these things?

Yes.......1 *ASK "D"
No.......2 Skip to Q. 64

*IF "STOPPED BY THE POLICE," ASK "D":

D. Which ones were you stopped for? (Ask for each and circle letter on left)

64. In gereral, for all of the things you ever did would you say that you did most of them

by yourself......................1
with one or two friends..........2 *ASK A
with a regular group of friends...3 *ASK "A"

*IF NOT DONE BY SELF, ASK "A"

A. Are these the same ones we talked about before when I asked you who you usually went around with?

Yes......1
No.......2

65. I see that you haven't done some of these things for awhile. How come you stopped?

66. How much spending money do you get, on the average, each week? ____________

A. How do you get it? ____

B. Would you like to have more spending money?

Yes......1*&**ASK "C"-"D"
No......2 *ASK "C" only

*IF "YES" OR "NO," ASK "C"

C. Why do you say that?

**IF "YES", ASK "D" AFTER "C":

D. How much more spending money would you like to have?

Time Interview completed ____________

Immediately after leaving Respondent fill out information requested on last page and edit interview for legibility.

INTERVIEWER REPORT FORM

A. Respondent's Ethnic-Racial Group:

White...............1
Negro...............2
Puerto Rican........3
Other (Specify).....4

B. Interview was conducted:

Entirely in English................1
Mostly in English, but partly in ____________ (specify) 2
Mostly in ____________ (specify) 3
Entirely in ____________ (specify) 4

C. Who else was present during interview?
(Record relationships and names where known)

D. What questions gave R. most trouble in understanding?

E. What questions gave R. most trouble in answering?

F. Comments re: Respondent and Interviewing situation:

G. Interviewer's Signature: ____________________________

H. Date of Interview: ____________________________

BE SURE CASE NO. IS ENTERED ON FRONT

PRECEDING PAGE BLANK-NOT FILMED

Appendix R - 5

SAMPLE DESIGN AND FIELD OPERATIONS FOR THE ADULT AND YOUTH SURVEYS

Mobilization for Youth

During the planning phase, two surveys were conducted, one of adults, and another of youngsters aged 10 to 19 in the same sample of households. After a sample of 1,250 households had been selected one adult was interviewed from each. (An adult in 988 of the 1,250 households was actually interviewed.) We then interviewed all children aged 10 through 19 in these same households. (A total of 555 children, of a potential 706, was interviewed.)

The design of the samples took into consideration the various purposes for which the data would be used -- description, theoretical analysis, and evaluation -- as well as the financial and time limitations on the number of interviews that could be obtained. This appendix summarizes issues involved in planning the samples and describes sampling methods, field procedures, and completion rates.

Sampling Issues

The plan for analyzing the survey results and utilizing them in evaluation required probability samples,[1] reproducible at a later date, which would make it possible to estimate characteristics and responses for ethnic and class groups and geographic subdivisions of the Mobilization area, as well as for its total population. Because comparisons of adults and youth in the same dwelling units were desired, the household was defined as the basic sampling unit, and procedures were established for selecting adult and juvenile respondents in each household.

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[1] Probability sampling is a procedure which permits us "to calculate the frequency distribution of the estimates which it generates if repeatedly applied to the same population." As applied to a known finite population, the main element of this procedure is the random selection of sampling units. A probability sample is one selected by this procedure. William G. Cochran, Sampling Techniques, New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1953, pp. 6, 7.

Three sampling models — a simple random sample, a systematic sample, and and a stratified random sample[2] — were considered for selecting households. The simple-random-sample model was rejected, because the plan for data analysis included contextual analysis by census-tract and health-area characteristics. This meant that sampling error for these small geographic subdivisions had to be minimized. A simple random sample would have produced considerable variation in sampling error among geographical units because it would not control the number of observations in each one.

A systematic sample would have controlled the number of observations in geographic subdivisions and would have met another sampling requirement — namely, that the sampling error pertaining to small, highly segregated clusters of ethnic households be held to a minimum. However, the architectural uniformity of the many housing projects in the Lower East Side created a danger of introducing periodic bias by selecting households through "systematic" procedures. This, together with the statistical impossibility of computing the sampling error of a systematic sample, eliminated it from consideration.

The method employed was random sampling from geographic strata. The statistical efficiency of a stratified random sample as compared to that of a simple random sample can be summed up as the difference between within-stratum variance and between-strata variance for any given variable. If there is no difference, a simple random sample is adequate. However, at the time we were planning the sample we had evidence of ethnic, income, and age segregation in the

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[2] A stratified random sample design first divides the population into non-overlapping subpopulations which together comprise the whole. Then a *simple random sample* is drawn from each stratum, "the drawings being made independently in different strata." A *systematic sample* first numbers the "units in the population...from 1 to N in some order. To select a sample of n units, we take a unit at random from the first k units and every kth subsequent unit" ($k = N/n$). The number of units from one kth to the next kth unit is called the sampling interval. *Ibid.*, pp. 65, 160.

Mobilization area. All three variables are relevant to analyzing the survey data. In an initial check of buildings we found that very few Puerto Ricans and Negroes were living in one of the sectors. Italians and Chinese were concentrated in one area, Eastern Europeans in another. No poor families lived in the middle-income cooperatives, and no well-to-do families lived in the low-income public housing. One section had a higher proportion of elderly people and people living alone. The goal of estimating these and other population characteristics as precisely as possible with a small sample together with their non-random geographic distribution suggested stratified rather than simple random sampling. Lack of complete information about the location of age, income, and ethnic groups required stratification on a geographic basis rather than on the basis of population characteristics.

The only definite information we had when we began was that the number of project and nonproject households in the Mobilization area was nearly the same. Accordingly, we decided to construct geographic strata of equal numbers of households and draw the same number of cases from each. This procedure is known as proportionate stratified random sampling, since the proportion sampled from each stratum is constant.[3] This procedure provided sufficient project and nonproject cases for comparisons and also avoided the statistical complication of having to weight strata for different sampling ratios.

The statistical efficiency of a sample increases as the population is divided into more strata with fewer observations per stratum. However, the possibility of error in estimating interviewing costs resuired strata large enough to permit varying the size of the sample by one observation per stratum. We estimated that funds were sufficient to cover a minimum of 800 completed interviews and a maximum of 1000. The general completion rate in the New York metropolitan area is about 80 percent for surveys of this kind. In order to ensure completion of as many interviews as possible, the limits of the initial sample size were set at 1000 and 1250, which would allow for a 20 percent loss. The difference between the upper and lower limits of the initial sample size was 250, or one fifth of 1250. The strata therefore had to be large enough to permit a random sample of five to be drawn from each of 250 strata. The interviewing commenced with 1002 cases, one random observation having been withheld from each stratum until the cost per interview was determined. The cost was found to be at the minimum estimate, and the other 250 cases were added for a total of 1252 cases to be interviewed.

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[3] A proportionate stratified random sample is a stratified random sample in which the sampling proportion is the same within all strata. Ibid., p. 67.

The Household Sample

Geographic stratification was obtained by listing the dwelling units[4] in each building in the Mobilization area according to a predesignated plan, assigning a number to each dwelling unit, then going to the adjacent building and continuing the sequence, proceeding around a city block in a clockwise direction until back at the starting point, then going on to the next block. In this fashion every known dwelling unit in the study area was assigned a number from one to 33,312.

The area was first divided into three parts for listing purposes -- old tenement,[5] public-housing projects (N.Y.C. Housing Authority), and middle-income cooperatives. The blocks containing the tenements were ordered in serpentine fashion so that subsequent blocks in the listing order were all contiguous. Public-housing projects and cooperatives were listed separately, the manner of ordering blocks differing only in that the blocks containing these projects were not always adjacent.

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[4] The sampling unit employed was the architectural dwelling unit, from which was derived a sample of households as well as a sample of vacant dwelling units. Institutional residents such as a home for the aged were excluded.

[5] "Tenements" as used here includes both tenements and multiple dwellings as defined by the building codes in New York City, plus a very few duplexes and single-family structures. The purpose is to differentiate the privately owned rental buildings from the newer public-housing projects and the cooperatives.

The listing of housing units was facilitated by the Department of Buildings and the City Planning Department of the City of New York. A list of all buildings was compiled by street address, block number, and number of floors, on the basis of a street atlas published by G. W. Bromley & Co., Inc.[6] The Buildings Department supplied information on the number of dwelling units in each building, which was added to the list. The number of units per building in the public-housing projects and middle-income cooperatives was obtained from the managers of the projects. A physical spot check of mail boxes and doorbells was made to confirm the accuracy of the count of dwelling units, and all buildings not listed by the Buildings Department were inspected to determine whether any part of them was used as living quarters. Wherever discrepancies were found, the premises were inspected and occupants questioned to determine the correct number of apartments. Apartments used as professional offices or otherwise not available as living quarters were eliminated from the list. A check of storefronts was made to locate any stores that were used as living quarters as well as places of business.

Our count of dwelling units per block was then compared with a count supplied by the Department of City Planning, a count prepared by the Sanborn Map Co. by adding to and subtracting from the 1950 U.S. Census count of dwelling units all demolitions, new construction, and conversions. Another source of information used for verifying the accuracy of our list was the Advance Report of the 1960 U.S. Census of Population and Housing.[7] This contains a tabulation of housing units by enumeration districts, usually single blocks except for a few combinations of smaller blocks. Whenever a discrepancy of more than two percent

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6. Manhattan Land Book, New York: G.W. Bromley & Co., Inc., 1957; revised, 1960.

7. 18th Decennial Census - 1960, E.D. Control Register, U.S. Department of of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1960.

between any of the three sources was found, a complete recheck of the block was made.

When the list was completed, every known dwelling unit in the area was identified by a specific number. The next task was selection of sample households.

The list of households was cut into 250 equal intervals (strata) of 133 housing units and one extra interval of 62 households (250 X 133 + 62 = 33312). Two hundred fifty groups of five random numbers from 1 through 133 and one group of two random numbers were assembled.[8] For each interval the five numbers were added to the base number of that interval. The resulting numbers were the dwelling-unit numbers designated to be in the sample.

The next step was to locate the building and the apartment represented by each number. To determine which apartments in a building were designated, the lister started counting on the ground floor (or basement if there was one) on the right side of the hall from front to rear, then the left side from front to rear, proceeding to the next floor, etc. For buildings with floor plans which made this standard pattern inappropriate, the lister went in a counter-clockwise direction starting at the right front on each floor. In the public-housing projects, where the apartment numbering systems are consistent within each project, lists obtained by inspection were verified with architectual plans supplied by the managers. If there were fewer apartments in a building than had been listed or if the building or an apartment within it had been demolished, or destroyed by fire, the number designating the nonexistent dwelling unit was dropped from the sample. There were 14 such losses, all in the tenements.

Wherever possible the lister obtained the name of the family living in sample households and identified their probable ethnic and linguistic status, for later use by the field interview staff.

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[8] The Rand Corporation, A Million Random Digits with 100,000 Normal Deviates, Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1955.

The Adult Survey

Since we wished to interview a cross-section of the adult community — old as well as young, men as well as women, those seldom at home as well as those always at home — the selection of the respondent was not left to the interviewer. We predesignated one adult (i.e., any person 20 years of age or older) in each household as the respondent, by random selection procedures applied by the interviewer after he had enumerated the residents in the household. The interviewer numbered all the adults in the household serially, from the oldest to the youngest. Then he selected the respondent by referring to a table of designation numbers included with each enumeration folder. The following table is an example of the respondent-selection instrument. The designating numbers for each possible household size were drawn from a table of random numbers.[9]

Number of adults in household	1	2	3	4	5	6
Random designation number	1	1	2	4	3	5

If there were three adults in the household for which the above table was provided, the second from the oldest would have been designated as the respondent; if six adults resided in the household, number 5, or the next to youngest would have been selected.

Field Operations

Although the field problems encountered in the adult survey are by no means unique, it may be useful to identify their salient characteristics in order to provide a perspective for interpreting both the qualitative and quantitative dimensions of the data. Particular attention will be directed to the recruitment and training of interviewers; community interpretation of the survey; field supervision; and types of persuasion used. We shall then discuss the characteristics of losses.

[9] The Rand Corporation, op. cit.

Recruitment and training of interviewers: To assure a high level of quality in interviews, the recruitment and training of interviewers was given careful attention. Applicants, selected on the basis of a personal interview, were required to complete two trial interviews with a "screening questionnaire." The trial interviews provided a further basis for assessing the applicant's potential capacity for research interviewing. Almost all interviewers had some college-level education and appropriate employment experience. To match the diversity of languages spoken in the Mobilization area, interviewers were recruited who spoke fluently in Spanish, Yiddish, Italian, German, Polish, Ukranian, Russian, or Chinese as well as English.

Successful applicants participated in a four-hour training session on interviewing techniques. They then completed practice interviews with two residents of the survey area, using the adult survey questionnaire. These respondents were selected randomly on the same basis as the sample, but they were not from households included in the sample. The practice interviews were followed by an all-day training session in which the field supervisors, the staff which had designed the questionnaire, and the interviewers went over each item in the questionnaire, discussing all problems which had been encountered. When interviews with the survey sample commenced, each interviewer had spent 20 to 25 hours in study and training. Forty interviewers were trained.

Community interpretation of the survey: A major source of difficulty encountered by interviewers can be attributed to a lack of knowledge by the community about the survey and its purpose. The extent to which this lack of knowledge is responsible for refusals to be interviewed is difficult to assess. However, it seems clear that some of the suspicion, distrust, and hostility faced by interviewers might have been neutralized if the community had had greater understanding of the survey's purpose. For example, knowledge might have removed the suspicion that the interviewer was seeking information for the Housing Authority, the Internal Revenue Service, the Department of Welfare, or other official agencies.

The problem in this survey, however, was that had publicity disclosed that the survey was being conducted by Mobilization for Youth, biased responses to the questionnaire might have resulted. To avoid such bias the decision was made not to associate the survey publicly with Mobilization. In the publicity to the community and letters to the sample households, reference to sponsorship was limited to Columbia University and a "federation of local civic, religious, and social organizations."

Field supervision: The field operations of the survey required approximately three months. During this period all aspects of the field work were closely supervised and carefully evaluated. To maintain high productivity, supervisors kept in continuous communication with the field staff. Interviewers were required to make weekly reports of their progress on each assignment. The time sheets provided a further means of assessing the relative efficiency of individual interviewers.

Completed interviews were regularly evaluated and each interviewer's performance was rated systematically. Individual conferences were held with interviewers whose performance was deficient. A validity check was instituted in which, for each interviewer, a sample of respondents who had been interviewed was contacted. Serious dereliction of performance was found in only one case, and the interviewer was dismissed.

Types of persuasion: To elicit the participation of respondents, a variety of approaches was utilized, depending upon the particular problem presented. An introductory letter was mailed to all households for which a name was available. In all other cases this letter was shown by the interviewer to the occupant of the designated household or left at the door if no one was home. When an interviewer encountered someone who refused to be interviewed, he recorded the age, sex, ethnic, and personality characteristics of the person refusing, his reason for refusing if stated, and suggestions for further efforts to secure the interview. On the basis of this information, the case was reassigned to an interviewer whose particular qualifications—e.g., language, age, sex, interviewing skill, personality attributes—seemed most appropriate.

In advance of the second interviewer's call, a personal letter was mailed to the potential respondent. This letter, in addition to stressing the importance of cooperating with the survey, further assured the recipient of its legitimacy.

To some of those in the sample who had initially refused to be interviewed (selected at the discretion of the supervisor on the basis of the reported characteristics) special letters were sent utilizing the name of an influential community figure who endorsed the survey. Among the names used were those of a prominent rabbi, the director of a large community center, the retired principal of a high school in the community, an Italian lawyer active in local community affairs, the priest of a church serving the Polish community, and a well-known Puerto Rican magistrate. A tabulation of the response of the recipients of these letters is not yet available.

In certain instances, where it was believed that the refusal was related to a fear of strangers, the interviewer sent the occupant a personal letter, indicating the time he would call so that the recipient would know the identity of the caller and presumably would be more willing to admit him. In other instances, where the refusal seemed to be based on suspicion of the interviewer's purpose, someone personally known to the reluctant respondent, such as the housing manager or a clergyman, intervened to establish the legitimacy of the survey.

In the closing stages of the survey, it became apparent that the refusal rate was highest among Italians and Negroes. Where project letters and letters from community influentials failed to elicit cooperation, selected respondents in these two groups were offered a small token payment for the time required by the interview. Of the 30 persons to whom payment was offered, 11 accepted.

Completion Rates and Characteristics of Losses

Of the sample of 1,252 adult respondents, interviews were completed with 988, or 79 percent. Of the original sample, 142 (11.3 percent) refused, 39 (3.1 percent) were not available for interview, 47 potential respondents (3.8 percent) were physically or mentally incapacitated, and eight cases (0.6 percent) were lost for other reasons; 28 cases (2.2 percent) proved not to be households and could not provide respondents.

Fifteen of the 142 persons who refused to respond did not answer the door. The presence of persons in the apartment was indicated by people talking, someone looking through a peephole in the door, or a neighbor's comment that someone had just entered the apartment. In 30 cases the people said they did not want to be interviewed, giving no explanation. Many of these were belligerent, and some did not even bother to open the door. In 71 cases the people expressed a lack of interest in the survey, in the community, or in anything except their own personal problems. Twenty-one respondents said that they feared personal, political, or economic consequences of answering the questions. Five persons said they had not lived in the area long enough to have become familiar with it.

In 18 of 39 cases in which the respondent was not available, no one was ever found at home. In an additional 20 cases, someone in the household was contacted, but the designated respondent was unable to make an appointment to be interviewed because of other time commitments, usually long or irregular working hours. In one other case the respondent was on vacation and was not expected to return for several months.

The group of incapacitated respondents included 16 with general illnesses, nine mentally ill, eight deaf, eight senile, three hospitalized, one alcoholic, and two unknown.[10]

In the "no household" category 14 cases were nonexistent dwelling units, listed by error or destroyed by fire or demolition. Eight others were vacant and available for occupancy, and six were rented by persons who maintained their usual residence elsewhere.

The "other" category consists of four cases in which the wrong person was interviewed, one case in which the family had moved after being enumerated without leaving a forwarding address, and three unknown cases which will be identified after the coding has been corrected.

Tables 1, 2, and 3 show the breakdown of the total cases, noninterview cases, and noninterview percentages, respectively, by type of housing, ethnicity, and presence or absence of children (aged 10-19) in the household.[11] Residents of the public-housing projects were the most cooperative and those in Knickebocker Village, a private project, the least cooperative. Because of special efforts to obtain interviews in Italian and Negro households, the final refusal rates by ethnicity vary little except for Puerto Ricans, who were notably more cooperative. Households with adolescents have a lower loss rate than those without adolescents.

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[10] These data are from a preliminary machine tabulation and thus the unknown category is a residual of coding errors.

[11] The ethnic definitions for Tables 1-3 are as follows:

Jewish — the respondent identified his religion or his father's (when he claimed none for himself) as Jewish;

Puerto Rican — respondent born in Puerto Rico or his father was, or who otherwise identified himself as of Puerto Rican lineage (both whites and nonwhites are included);

Negro — respondent was identified by the interviewer as Negro (excluding Puerto Ricans);

Italian — respondent or his father was born in Italy;

Chinese — respondent or his father was born in China;

Other — includes all respondents not classified elsewhere;

Don't know — noninterviewed respondents not identified by ethnicity or color by the interviewers.

Table 1. Adult Respondents in Sample (Including Noninterviews) by Types of Housing, Ethnicity, and Presence or Absence of Adolescents

	Total Households*	Households without Adolescents	Households with Adolescents.	Unknown Adolescents
Tenements:				
Jewish	123	100	16	7
Puerto Rican	182	101	71	10
Negro	37	25	9	3
Italian	55	37	13	5
Chinese	26	19	5	2
Others	184	156	28	-
Don't know	50	28	5	17
Total	657	466	147	44
Public Housing:				
Jewish	111	76	31	4
Puerto Rican	131	59	72	-
Negro	63	23	36	4
Italian	47	20	22	5
Chinese	3	1	2	-
Others	42	20	22	-
Don't Know	8	5	1	2
Total	405	204	186	15
Coops:				
Jewish	84	64	20	-
Puerto Rican	1	1	-	-
Negro	1	1	-	-
Italian	4	2	2	-
Chinese	1	-	1	-
Others	7	4	3	-
Don't Know	3	-	-	3
Total	101	72	26	3
Knickerbocker Village:				
Jewish	16	9	5	2
Puerto Rican	-	-	-	-
Negro	1	-	1	-
Italian	24	11	7	6
Chinese	1	1	-	-
Others	12	9	1	2
Don't Know	7	3	1	3
Total	61	33	15	13
Total Mobilization Area:				
Jewish	334	249	72	13
Puerto Rican	314	161	143	10
Negro	102	49	46	7
Italian	130	70	44	16
Chinese	31	21	8	2
Others	245	189	54	2
Don't Know	68	36	7	25
Total	1224	775	374	75
Vacant or Nonexistent Unit:				
Tenements	27			
Coops	1			
Total	28			

*Since one adult respondent was to be selected from each household, the distribution of households and adult respondents are identical.

Table 2. Adult noninterviews, by Type of Housing, Ethnicity, and Presence or Absence of Adolescents

	Total Households	Households without Adolescents	Households with Adolescents	Unknown Adolescents
Tenements:				
Jewish	25	18	-	7
Puerto Rican	21	8	3	10
Negro	8	4	1	3
Italian	10	5	-	5
Chinese	6	3	1	2
Others	13	11	2	-
Don't Know	50	28	5	17
Total	133	77	12	44
Public Housing:				
Jewish	14	8	2	4
Puerto Rican	12	4	8	-
Negro	13	5	4	4
Italian	8	2	1	5
Chinese	-	-	-	-
Others	2	1	1	-
Don't Know	8	5	1	2
Total	57	25	17	15
Coops:				
Jewish	18	15	3	-
Puerto Rican	-	-	-	-
Negro	1	1	-	-
Italian	-	-	-	-
Chinese	1	-	1	-
Others	-	-	-	-
Don't Know	3	-	-	3
Total	23	16	4	3
Knickerbocker Village:				
Jewish	4	1	1	2
Puerto Rican	-	-	-	-
Negro	-	-	-	-
Italian	9	2	1	6
Chinese	-	-	-	-
Others	3	1	-	2
Don't Know	7	3	1	3
Total	23	7	3	13
Total Mobilization Area				
Jewish	61	42	6	13
Puerto Rican	33	12	11	10
Negro	22	10	5	7
Italian	27	9	2	16
Chinese	7	3	2	2
Others	18	13	3	2
Don't Know	68	36	7	25
Total	236	125	36	75

Table 3. Noninterview Percentages, by Type of Housing, Ethnicity, and Presence or Absence of Adolescents

	Total Households	Households without Adolescents	Households with Adolescents	Unknown Adolescents
Tenements:				
Jewish	20.3	18.0	*	*
Puerto Rican	11.5	*	4.2	*
Negro	*	*	*	*
Italian	18.2	*	*	*
Chinese	*	*	*	*
Others & Don't Know	26.9	20.1	*	*
Total	20.2	16.5	8.2	*
Public Housing:				
Jewish	12.6	10.5	*	*
Puerto Rican	9.2	6.8	11.1	-
Negro	20.6	*	*	*
Italian	*	*	*	*
Chinese	*	*	*	-
Others & Don't Know	*	*	*	*
Total	14.1	12.3	9.1	*
Coops:				
Jewish	21.4	23.4	*	-
Puerto Rican	*	*	-	-
Negro	*	*	-	-
Italian	*	*	*	-
Chinese	*	-	*	-
Others & Don't Know	*	*	*	*
Total	*	22.2	*	*
Knickerbocker Village:				
Jewish	*	*	*	*
Puerto Rican	-	-	-	-
Negro	*	-	*	-
Italian	*	*	*	*
Chinese	*	*	-	-
Others & Don't Know	*	*	*	*
Total	37.7	*	*	*
Total Mobilization Area:				
Jewish	18.3	16.9	8.3	*
Puerto Rican	10.5	7.5	7.7	*
Negro	21.6	*	*	*
Italian	20.8	12.9	*	*
Chinese	*	*	*	*
Others & Don't Know	27.5	21.8	16.4	*
Total	19.2	16.1	9.6	6.1
Vacant or Nonexistent Unit				
Tenements	3.9			
Cooperatives	1.0			
Total	2.2			

Note: These data are a preliminary hand tabulation and subject to revision. Noninterview rates are presented only where the total number of cases is 50 or more. Fewer cases are indicated by an asterisk (*). A dash (-) means that the category contained no cases.

Refusal to respond was also found to vary with age:

Age	Noninterview Percentage
20 - 29 years	14.7
30 - 39 "	14.3
40 - 49 "	18.0
50 - 59 "	22.8
60 years and older	25.6

Much of the increase in the oldest age group was due to the physical or mental inability of the designated respondent to answer the questions. To some extent, these age differentials may account for ethnic variations, for Puerto Ricans tended to be younger than other groups in the area (except Negroes). Age differentials may also be related to the presence or absence of youth in the households.

The Youth Survey

The youth selected as respondents for the youth survey were drawn from the same household sample of the Mobilization area from which the adult respondents were selected.[12] All children between the ages of 10 and 19 of both sexes living in the households became part of the sample, whether or not interviews were obtained with adults in the household.

At the time that the adults were interviewed, written permission was requested of the legal guardian to interview all children aged 10 through 19 living in the household. Permission was requested to interview the children, if possible, at the school they attended. The less desirable alternative was to receive permission to interview the child at home.

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[12] This procedure makes it possible to match the youth interviews with the adult interviews (when they exist), avoids the problem of drawing a separate sample for the youth, and permits comparisons of siblings. The fact that all children in each household were used places a limitation on the interpretation of the results, however. The sample can be examined as if it were a random sample of the youth population, but it differs from a sample drawn from a population list in that there is a much larger proportion of siblings.

Permission was granted to interview 470 of the 706 youth (66 percent). For 264 permission was given to interview the child in the home and for 206 permission was granted for an interview in school. Whether or not permission was granted, the survey attempted to interview the child.

Field Operations

Choice and training of interviewers: Most of the interviewers used for the youth survey had experience as interviewers on the adult survey. Selections from this larger pool were made on the basis of experience working with teenagers and age, ethnicity, and sex. Younger interviewers were chosen; ethnicity and sex of interviewer and respondent were the same. Each of those selected interviewed two teenagers of his own choosing who did not reside in the sample area. These interviews were followed by an all-day training session in which the field supervisor and the designers of the questionnaire went over each of the items with the interviewers, covering all problems which had been encountered.

Field supervision: Supervision procedures utilized in the adult survey were continued with the youth survey. Communication between the field supervisors and interviewers was maintained continuously to ensure immediate attention to emerging problems.

Interviewing procedures: Initially it was expected that most of the interviews would take place in the schools. Arrangements were made with schools (public and private) in the area to permit the use of the school for this purpose. All the public schools cooperated, as did many of the private and parochial institutions. Only two parochial schools refused permission.

Each interviewer was assigned to three or four schools. Each school designated a contact person whom the interviewer called to arrange for a time and place to interview a child in the school. This proved a highly efficient system. It was possible to interview 196 youth within a short time.

Because interviewing began late in the school year, interviews were not completed before the schools closed for the summer vacation. The remaining respondents were interviewed in their homes.

Completion Rates

There were 706 potential respondents in the youth sample. As Table 4 shows, it was possible to interview 555 of the 706 (79 percent). The completion rate for boys (75 percent) was lower than the completion rate for girls (84 percent). The completion rates for the group aged 10 to 15 years was higher than that for the group aged 16 to 19 (83 percent and 69 percent, respectively). The completion rate for 16-to 19-year old males was especially low, only 58 percent.

Table 4. Completion Rates, by Sex and Age

Age	Males		Females		Total	
10 - 15	215/264	81%	196/229	86%	411/493	83%
16 - 19	61/105	58%	83/105	79%	144/210	69%
Total	276/369	75%	279/334	84%	555/706	79%

The completion rate was 89 percent (418 of 470) when permission had been granted to interview the child either in school or home. When permission had not been granted, the completion rate was 58 percent (137 of 236).

Reasons for noninterviews: It was not possible to interview a total of 151 (21 percent) of the potential youth respondents (see Table 5). Eighty (11 percent) losses were a result of adult or youth refusals (mostly the former), 40 of these in households where the adult had also refused to be interviewed for the adult survey. The reasons for refusal were similar to those indicated for the adult survey. Some of the remaining 40 who refused said that they felt the family had already given enough time to the survey; some parents said that they did not want the child bothered or expressed concern that the information given by the child would be used against him by the school.

Table 5. Reasons for Noncompletion of 151 Interviews

	10-15 years			16-19 years			
	Males	Females	Age Sub-total	Males	Females	Age Sub-total	Total
Refusals	12%	10%	11%	13%	8%	11%	11%
Family mobility	3	2	2	3	3	3	3
Individual mobility	1	1	1	15	7	11	4
Nonavailability	1	*	1	9	4	6	2
Other reasons	2	*	1	2	0	1	1
Total losses	19%	14%	17%	42%	21%	31%	23%
Number of cases	(264)	(229)	(493)	(105)	(105)	(210)	(706)**

*Less than 1%

**Three cases for which age and sex data were unavailable are included in the computation of total rates. Two of these were refusals and one could not be interviewed for "other reasons."

Eighteen (3 percent) of the losses were due to the family's having moved from the area after enumeration, but before the youth were interviewed. In 29 additional cases (4 percent), although the family had not moved, the respondent was not living at home but was away at school, institutionalized, in the army, had returned to Puerto Rico, or had left the state looking for work. Sixteen (2 percent) of the losses were youth living at home but not available; erratic, infrequent appearances at home precluded scheduling an interview. In the other 8 cases (1 percent) the reasons for noninterview were highly idiosyncratic (i.e., boy was deaf and mute; boy frightened of interview, began crying; administrative losses). In three instances, the interviewer could obtain no data beyond the fact that a youth aged 10 - 19 lived in the household.

Age, sex, and ethnic characteristics of noninterviews: As Table 4 shows, the noninterview rate was highest in the 16-to-19 age group, 31 percent as contrasted to 17 percent in the 10-to-15 age group. Table 5 shows that the refusal rate was the same for both age groups but that individual mobility and nonavailability were more frequently cited as reasons for noninterview in the older group

When the 151 losses are characterized by sex as well as age (Table 5), losses due to individual mobility and nonavailability appear especially large for the 16-to-19-year-old males — 24 percent as opposed to 11 percent for females in the same age group, and two percent for younger males.

As Table 6 shows, Italians had the highest noninterview rate of any ethnic group. For each ethnic group, losses were greatest among 16-to-19-year-old males.

Table 6. Noninterviews by Ethnicity*

Ethnicity	Total in Sample	Number of Losses	Noninterview Percentages
Puerto Rican	283	44	16
Jewish	114	23	21
Negro	104	20	19
Italian	83	27	32
Other	119	34	28
	706	151	21

*The ethnic and color classifications of youth respondents follow those of the actual or potential adult respondents in their household.

Loss rate when adults were not interviewed: The noninterview rates given in Table 6 have been computed on a sample size of 706 youth. This includes the 65 children from households in which an adult interview had not been obtained. Interviews were obtained with 25 of these 65 youth (38 percent) as compared with 530 (83 percent) of the 641 children in households which had supplied an adult respondent. The completion rate was thus lower when no adult interview was obtained.

The youth survey interviewed 79 percent of the total sample. However, if an adult in the household had been interviewed and permission had been granted for the youth interview, the completion rate was higher (89 percent). If the adult in the household had been interviewed but permission was not granted, the completion rate dropped to 65 percent.

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Appendix R-6

THE ORGANIZATION SURVEY INSTRUMENT

Mobilization for Youth

Introductory Statement: We are interested in getting your ideas about the part your organization and others in this community might play (or have played) in resolving some of the social problems of the Lower East Side.

First, though, I'd like to ask you a few specific questions about your organization.

I. Organizational Structure

1. What is the full name of your organization? ____________________

2. Is your organization incorporated?

Yes ____ Date of Incorporation ____________
No ____
Pending ____

3. Is your organization a branch or division of a larger organization?

Yes ____ (Skip A ask B & C & D & E)

No ____ (Ask A only then go to Q. 4)

A. When was your organization started? ____________________

B. What is the name of your parent organization? ____________________

C. Does this organization in any way set the policy or determine the program of your group?

Yes ____ (Ask D)

No ____ (Skip D go to E)

D. Would you say that your group's programs and policies are more or less entirely set by your parent organization or does your unit have some degree of independence?

Little or no independence ____
Some degree of independence ____

E. When was your branch set up? ____________________

4. Are there any committees or subdivisions in your organization that have their own programs?

No subdivision ____

Subdivisions ____ (list names and functions of sub-groups)

____

____

____

____

5. What is the address of your organization? ____________________

If no permanent address:

A. Where are group meetings held? ____________________

6. How often are meetings held?

II. Membership

1. How many members does your organization have? (If respondent doesn't know for sure, get estimate.)

A. What % of members attend regular meetings?

2. Membership age brackets and sex:

To the best of your knowledge, how many (or what %)

	Male	Female
are below 18		
between 18 - 30		
30 - 60		
Over 60		

A. To the best of your knowledge, what % of adult members are married?

____

3. What is the ethnic background of your members?

Single ethnic background ____________________ (specify)

Mixed ethnic background ____________________ (specify % of each)

4. How many (or what %) of the present membership have been with the organization since it started (or since branch was set up)? ______________

5. How do you get your members? ______________

6. Are there any special qualifications for membership?

Qualifications

None ______________
Age ______________
Sex ______________
Ethnicity ______________
Skill or trade ______________
Recommendation ______________
Other (specify) ______________

Probe: Any other?

7. Are there any initiation or joining fees? (If Yes) Amount? ______________

A. Are there any dues? (If Yes) Amount? ______________

8. What % of the membership resides in this community, that is, on the Lower East Side. (If R. asks for boundaries of "L.E.S." tell him: "South of 14th St. and East of the Bowery.")

A. (If not 100%) Where do the other members live?

Place of Residence	Estimated %
Lower East Side	
Manhattan (exc. LES)	
Other Boroughs	
Suburbs	

B. (Of members out of LES, if any) Did they originally live here on the Lower East Side?

9. What are the most influential members in the organization with regard to organizational matters?

(For each person named:) What kind of work does he do?

Influential Member	Occupation

A. (If more than one) Who would you say is the most influential?

B. (If R. does not mention himself) What about yourself? ______________

III. Program

A. General

1. What do your members do when they get together?

Probe: Anything else?

A. How often do members get together?

2. Thinking only of the members, what would you say are the benefits they get from the organization?

3. Would you describe your organization's activities for the past year?

4. In a few words, what would you say is the main purpose of your organization?

(Probe: If R. gives a general or vague answer) Could you tell me a little bit more about that?

5. What would you say are some of the other purposes of the organization?

6. Are there any ways in which your organization's programs and activities are of benefit to non-members or to the community in general?

B. Collaborative Programs

1. Are there any groups or associations which have helped or cooperated with your organization in carrying out your programs?

None ______ (Skip to 2)

Name of Cooperating Organization	Frequency of Collaboration

2. Are there any groups or associations which your organization has aided in carrying out their programs?

None______ (Skip to 3)

Name of Cooperating Organization	Frequency of Collaboration

3. Are there any organizations with which your group has sought unsuccessfully to work?

None ______ (Skip to 4)

Names of Organizations ______________________________

____

4. Are there any organizations which have unsuccessfully tried to involve your group in their programs?

None ______ (Skip to 5)

Names of Organizations ______________________________

____

5. Are there any organizations (in or out of this community) that your group would definitely not want to be associated with?

None ______ (Skip to 6)

Names of Organizations ______________________________

____

6. Are there any groups in or out of this community with which your organization would like to cooperate although you aren't doing so now?

None ______ (Skip to IV-1)

Names of Organizations ______________________________

____

IV. Social Problems and Community Power Structure

1. In your opinion, what was the most important change for the better during the past few years in the Lower East Side?

   A. Who would you say was the most responsible for getting this done?

2. What would you say are some of the bad things about the Lower East Side? (If R. mentions no bad things, skip to Q. 3. If R. does mention bad things, continue with Q. 2)

   A. (If R. identifies more than one bad thing, ask)
   Which one of these is the worst thing about this community?

   B. Would you say that most of your members would agree with you on this?

   C. Is your organization in any way involved in doing anything about this?

   If Yes ask What?

   If No ask D.

   D. If your organization wanted to do something about (R. worst thing) what do you feel it could do?

   If "nothing" ask: Why do you say that?

3. In your opinion, who are the most important people for deciding how things are run here in the Lower East Side?
Ask of each person or official (e.g., "the mayor") named:

   A. (If not stated by R.) What organization is he connected with?

   B. Do you, or any member of your organization, have any influence with him?

INFLUENTIALS

Name	Organization	Have Influence?

Respondent's Reaction ______________________________

____

____

4. Thinking only of the LES area, who would you see as most influential for deciding or helping to decide how things are run here in this community?

   (Probe)

5. In your opinion which are the most important organizations for deciding how things are run here in the Lower East Side?

Introductory Statements:
We are interviewing all types of organizations and some of the questions we ask may not directly apply to your group. But I still would like to ask you the question, so feel free to say you DK.

6. Who, in your estimation, is a key person one should contact if he was interested in doing something about the following:

	Name	Organization	Have influence with?
a. flagrant housing violations in a local tenement building			

	Name	Organization	Have influence with?
b. overcrowding, split shifts, and a teacher shortage in a local public school.			
c. teen-age drug addicts			
d. inadequate police protection			
e. inadequate play facilities for neighborhood children			
f. a flagrant case of police brutality against some member of the community			
g. an unemployed man with a large family who was looking for work			
h. setting up a day nursery for the children of working mothers			
i. increasing the number of local residents who register and vote			
j. discriminatory practices at a local private hospital			
k. getting more middle-income housing developments in the community			
l. teenage fighting gangs			
m. improving business conditions on the Lower East Side			
n. raising funds for a community development project			

A. (Ask regarding each person R. has named)

1. Is he connected with any organization?
2. Have you or your organization any influence with him?

7. Are there any important or influential people who have aided your organization in any way?

No _____ (Skip to Q. 8)

Yes _____ (Ask A & B)

For each influential names:

A. How did he help your organization?

B. Is he connected with any organization?

If Yes: Name of organization

(If respondent indicates several helpful influentials get this information on 3 most helpful only.)

8. Are there any important or influential people who have worked against or tried to defeat the program of your organization?

No _____ (Skip to V-1)

Yes _____ (Ask A & B for each influential named)

A. How did he try to defeat your organization:

B. Is he connected with any organization?

If Yes: Name of organization

V. Interest Profile and Action Potential

1. In general, how much do you think an organization of citizens can do about (see list below)? Would you say the organization can do a great deal, only a moderate amount, or hardly anything at all?

	Great Deal	Only a Moderate Amount	Hardly Anything At All	Don't Know Can't Say
a) cutting graft in the national government				
b) cutting graft in the local government				
c) improving the local schools				
d) improving race relations				
e) doing away with juvenile delinquency				

2. There are many different ways of trying to better conditions in a neighborhood. How likely is it that your organization would participate in the following forms of protest - probably would, probably would not, or not sure?

	Probably would	Probably not	Not sure
a) calling or writing a public official	____	____	____
b) joining a protest parade	____	____	____
c) visiting a public official with a group	____	____	____
d) picketing	____	____	____
e) joining a community organization	____	____	____
f) distributing leaflets on the street corner	____	____	____
g) signing a petition	____	____	____
h) meeting with other people	____	____	____
i) giving money to help out	____	____	____
j) being a party to a lawsuit against the ones responsible	____	____	____

3. Suppose another organization (one with a good reputation) tried to get your group to participate in a campaign to enlarge the staff and improve services at the local public hospital, would your organization be interested in participating in this project, or don't you know?

What about a campaign to (b., c., d., etc. in turn)? Would your organization be interested in actually participating? (Put X in appropriate box.)

	Interest in Participating		
	Yes	No	D.K.
a. enlarge the staff and improve services at the local public hospital			
Qualifications __________________________			
b. get the city to condemn and tear down the worst slum tenements in this neighborhood			
Qualifications __________________________			
c. force all retail stores (except drug stores) to close on Sundays			
Qualifications __________________________			
d. put lights in some of the local public playgrounds so that the teenagers could have a safe outdoor place to play after dark			
Qualifications __________________________			
e. stop the harassment of merchants who choose to open their stores on Sundays			
Qualifications __________________________			
f. set up a citizen's committee to represent Lower East Side residents at Board of Estimate hearings and before other public agencies			
Qualifications __________________________			
g. obtain more than one mail delivery a day			
Qualifications __________________________			
h. raise funds to enable a local settlement house to continue its program.			
Qualifications __________________________			

	Interest in Participating		
	Yes	No	D.K.
i. increase the number of inexpensive parking spaces in the business sections of the community.			
Qualifications ______________________			
j. picket Woolworths and other chain stores with branches in the south discriminating against Negroes.			
Qualifications ______________________			
k. remove undesirable tenants from the local public housing projects			
Qualifications ______________________			
l. set up a Political Action Committee to encourage people to register and vote			
Qualifications ______________________			
m. transfer out of the community precincts police officers known to have been abusive of Puerto Ricans			
Qualifications ______________________			
n. get jobs for teenagers who have dropped out of school			
Qualifications ______________________			
o. raise funds to send a delegate of young neighborhood musicians to the Casals Music Festival in Puerto Rico			
Qualifications ______________________			
p. establish a scholarship fund for bright children from families on welfare			
Qualifications ______________________			
q. publicize the dangers of atom and hydrogen bomb testing			
Qualifications ______________________			
r. set up neighborhood councils in the various sections of the community			
Qualifications ______________________			

	Interest in Participating		
	Yes	No	D.K.
s. encourage more of the neighborhood children to attend the Sunday or Sabbath schools of their faith			
Qualifications ______________________			
t. get the city to put up more street lights on blocks where they are needed			
Qualifications ______________________			
u. encourage a Shop Where You Live policy by local residents			
Qualifications ______________________			
v. establish a 10 p.m. curfew for children and younger teenagers			
Qualifications ______________________			
w. establish a well-supervised residence hall for severely neglected local teenagers			
Qualifications ______________________			
x. get Negro and Puerto Rican young men into unions which now discriminate against them			
Qualifications ______________________			
y. enforce more vigorously the law prohibiting the sale of cigarettes to minors			
Qualifications ______________________			
z. inform people in Puerto Rico and Negroes in the south of some of the disadvantages of city life			
Qualifications ______________________			
aa. drive organized criminal elements out of the community			
Qualifications ______________________			
bb. encourage local merchants to give part-time jobs to neighborhood teenagers			
Qualifications ______________________			
cc. cut down noise on the city streets			
Qualifications ______________________			

	Interest in Participating		
	Yes	No	D.K.
dd. clean up and make children areas of empty neighborhood lots			
Qualifications ____________________			
ee. start a third political party			
Qualifications ____________________			

B. Now I am going to read back to you those projects in which you think your organization would actually be interested in participating. As I mention each one, would you tell me whether you think your organization would be strongly interested, or whether it's interest and participation would probably be casual.

(Draw a circle around appropriate X
when strong interest is indicated.)

C. Now, finally, I'm going to read back to you those projects which would not be of interest to your organization. As I mention each one, would you tell me whether or not the aims of the project would be definitely against the policies and goals of your organization.

(Draw a circle around appropriate X when policy conflict is indicated.)

VI. Leader Profile

Now, just before closing,
I'd like to ask you a few questions about yourself, if I may.
First,

1. What is your full-time occupation?______________________________

(If R. states that leading his organization is his full-time job, ask A, B & C. If R. states that his full-time occupation is something other than heading up his organization, omit A -- ask B, C, D & E.)

A. Do you have any other paid employment besides? (If yes, ascertain what)

B. How long have you been (leader, director, president) of your group?

C. How long have you been a member of the organization?

D. Do you receive any kind of pay for serving as the leader of your organization?

E. How many hours a week would you say you devote to the affairs of your organization?

2. Where were you born? U.S.A. ____________ Other (Specify) ____________

3. Where was your father born? U.S.A. ________ Other (Specify) ____________

A. (Interviewer Instruction: If at this time you do not yet know the original nationality of the R., ask):

What is your original nationality? ______________________________

B. Interviewer check:

NEGRO _____ PUERTO RICAN _____ WHITE _____

4. And what religion are you?

(If R. replies none, ask What religion were you brought up in?")

Protestant	1
Catholic	2
Jewish	3
Orthodox	
Conservative-reform	
None	4
Other (specify)	5

5. What newspapers do you read regularly, if any? ______________________

A. (Probe on the following newspapers if they are not mentioned)

And do you ever read the

Lower East Side News?	Yes	No
Two Bridges News?	Yes	No
Union Square Savings Bank News?	Yes	No
The Catholic News?	Yes	No
Town and Village?	Yes	No

6. Did you have a chance to get as much schooling as you wanted? __________
How many years of school did you finish?

Some grade school	1
finished grade school (8 years)	2
9th grade	3
10th grade	4
11th grade	5
12th grade (or high school grad)	6
some college	7
graduated from college or more	8
don't know	9

7. Besides the one which you head, do you belong to any other organizations?

A. (If yes) Ascertain names of organizations and R's office(s), if any.

____

____

____

8. (Interviewer fill in) R's full name ____________________

9. (Interviewer fill in) R's address ____________________

R's telephone number, if any ____________________

10. Do you have a list of officers or any other literature on your organization?

(If no list) then get names of officers.

11. Would you give me the names and addresses of any adult social clubs or informal groups in this area that you know of?

Interviewer comments:

1. On respondent

2. On interview situation

3. Date of interview ______________________________

Time required (total) ________________

____
(Interviewer's signature)

Edited by ______________ Coded by ______________ Checked by ____________

Appendix Ad

ADMINISTRATION

Mobilization for Youth

BY-LAWS

of

MOBILIZATION FOR YOUTH

ARTICLE I

OFFICES

The principal office of the Corporation shall be in the City of New York, New York. The Corporation may also have offices at such other places as the Board of Directors may from time to time designate.

ARTICLE II

MEMBERS

Section 1. Subscribers as Members. The subscribers to the Certificate of Incorporation shall be members of the Corporation (until such membership is terminated by death, resignation, or otherwise).

Section 2. Directors as Members. The Directors of the Corporation, so long as they are so serving, shall be members of the Corporation (until membership is terminated by death, resignation or otherwise).

Section 3. Certificate of Membership. The Secretary shall issue to each member a certificate of membership duly authenticated by any two officers and the Secretary shall enter the name of every member upon the membership roll which the Secretary shall maintain in the Membership Certificate Book of the Corporation. Certificates of Membership shall be non-negotiable and non-transferable.

Section 4. Rights and Privileges of Members Membership in the Corporation confers upon the members only such rights and privileges as are specifically granted to them by the By-Laws. Members of the Corporation shall not have any rights to or interest whatever in any of the assets or property of the Corporation.

Section 5. Resignations. Any member may resign from the Corporation by giving notice to the Secretary of his resignation.

Section 6. Expulsion.

(a) The Board of Directors, at any meeting, acting by a two-thirds vote of the entire board, may expel any member who in the uncontrolled judgment and discretion of the Board has been guilty of conduct detrimental to the interest or welfare of the Corporation.

(b) Any member whose expulsion shall have been voted as hereinbefore provided, shall be notified thereof by the Corporation in writing, and he shall have a period of ten (10) days within which to request a hearing, such request to be in writing. If he shall request a hearing, such hearing shall be promptly held. The expulsion of a member shall be final at the end of such ten-day period if the member shall fail to request a hearing in writing, or, if a hearing shall be held, upon a two-thirds vote of the full Board adhering to its previous decision.

ARTICLE III

MEMBERS' MEETINGS

Section 1. Place of Meeting. Meetings of the members shall be held at the principal office of the Corporation or at such other place within or without the State of New York as may be designated by the Board of Directors.

Section 2. Annual Meeting. The annual meetings of the members shall be held on the second Monday in January of each year (or, if said day be a legal holiday, then on the immediately preceding day not a legal holiday), at 12:00 Noon, for the election of a Board of Directors and the transaction of such other business as may properly come before the meeting.

Section 3. Special Meetings. Special meetings of the members may be called by resolution of the Board of Directors or by the Chairman and shall be called by the Chairman or Secretary at the written request of a majority of the members.

Section 4. Notice of Meetings. Notice of the time and place of meetings of members shall be given personally or by mail not less than ten (10) nor more than forty (40) days before the day fixed for the meeting. In the discretion of the Chairman, notice of any regular meeting to members may be omitted.

Section 5. Quorum and Adjournments. One-third of the members of the Corporation, present in person or by proxy, shall constitute a quorum at all meetings of members of the Corporation. If there be no quorum, the members present in person or by proxy may, by a majority vote, adjourn the meeting from time to time without notice other than the announcement at the meeting, until a quorum is obtained.

Section 6. Proxies. Any member of the Corporation entitled to vote, may vote at any meeting by proxy. Proxies shall be in writing and revocable at the pleasure of the member executing the same. Unless the duration of a proxy is specified, it shall be invalid eleven (11) months after the date of its execution.

ARTICLE IV

DIRECTORS

Section 1. Number. The property, business and affairs of the Corporation shall be managed and controlled by the Board of Directors, consisting of not less than three (3) nor more than fifty (50) directors.

Section 2. Term. Each Director shall serve for the term for which he has been elected and until such time as his successor shall have been chosen and shall have qualified, unless his directorship shall be theretofore vacated by resignation, death, removal or otherwise.

Section 3. Meetings. Meetings of the Board may be held at such place within or without the State of New York as the directors may from time to time determine. Special meetings may also be held at any time upon call of the Chairman, and shall be called by the Chairman or Secretary on written request of two directors.

Section 4. Notice. Meetings of the Board of Directors may be held upon oral, telegraphic or written notice served on, sent or mailed to each director not less than two (2) days before such meeting.

Section 5. Quorum and Adjournments. One-third of the members of the Board shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business. If a quorum is not present at any meeting, the directors present may adjourn the meeting from time to time without notice other than announcement at the meeting, until a quorum shall be present.

Section 6. Removal. The members of the Corporation at any meeting, by a majority vote of the entire membership may remove any director with or without cause and fill the vacancy thus occurring in the Board.

Section 7. Vacancies. In case any vacancy in the Board of Directors shall occur through death, resignation, disqualification, increase in number of directors or any other cause, the vacancy shall be filled by a majority vote of the directors of the Corporation until the next annual election of directors.

Section 8. Executive and Other Committees. The Board of Directors may elect an Executive Committee of not less than seven members, an Operating Committee and such other committees as it deems necessary for the proper conduct of the affairs of the Corporation. Such Executive Committee shall have full authority to exercise all the powers of the Board of Directors in the interim between regular meetings of the Board. Such Committee shall report at the next ensuing meeting of the Board of Directors all action taken on behalf of the Corporation.

Section 9. Salaries and Compensation. No director shall receive any compensation for his services as director.

ARTICLE V

OFFICERS

Section 1. Election, Number, Qualification and Vacancies. The Board of Directors shall as soon as may be practicable after each annual members' meeting elect a Chairman of the Corporation, one or more Vice Chairmen, a Secretary, a Treasurer and such other officers as the Board shall determine. Any two offices may be held by one individual. Vacancies may be filled by the Board at any time.

Section 2. Term of Office and Removals. The term of office of such officers shall be until the next annual election of officers or until their successors are chosen and have qualified, but any officer may be removed from office with or without cause at any time by a vote of a majority of the entire Board of Directors.

Section 3. Powers and Duties. The officers of the Corporation shall, unless otherwise ordered by the Board of Directors, each have such powers and duties as generally pertain to their respective offices as well as such powers and duties as from time to time may be specifically conferred by the Board of Directors.

Section 4. Compensation. No officer shall receive directly or indirectly any salary, compensation or other emolument for any services that may be rendered by such officer to the Corporation.

ARTICLE VI

INDEMNIFICATION OF OFFICERS AND DIRECTORS

Any person made a party to any action, suit or proceeding by reason of the fact that he, his testator or intestate, is or was a director, member of the Executive or other Committee, officer or employee of the Corporation, or of any corporation which he serves as such, at the request of the Corporation shall be indemnified by the Corporation against the reasonable expenses, including attorneys' fees, actually and necessarily incurred by him in connection with the defense of such action, suit or proceeding, or in connection with any appeal therein, except in relation to matters as to which it shall be adjudged in such action, suit or proceeding that such director, member of the Executive Committee, officer or employee is liable for negligence or misconduct in the performance of his duties. Any amount payable pursuant to this By-Law may be determined by vote at a directors' or members' meeting, or may be determined and paid in accordance with the provisions of the General Corporation Law or other law of the State of New York as then in force and effect. The right of indemnification provided for in this By-Law shall not be deemed exclusive of any other rights to which any director, member of the Executive Committee, officer or employee may be entitled apart from this By-Law.

ARTICLE VII

DISSOLUTION OR LIQUIDATION

Upon the dissolution, liquidation or winding up of the Corporation, whether the same be voluntary or involuntary, or upon any distribution whatever of the assets or property, no member of the Corporation shall be entitled to or receive any part of the assets or property of the Corporation. Upon any such dissolution, liquidation or winding up of the Corporation, all of the assets and property of the Corporation shall, in such manner as may be determined by the Board of Directors, be used and disposed of for the purposes set forth in the Certificate of Incorporation. If the Board of Directors shall not, within a reasonable time after the dissolution, liquidation or winding up of the Corporation, make such distribution and disposition of its assets and property, then and in such event, any member or director of the Corporation may apply to a Justice of the Supreme Court of the State of New York for an order directing the disposition of such assets and property for the purposes set forth in the Certificate of Incorporation.

ARTICLE VIII

MISCELLANEOUS

Section 1. Checks, Notes, Etc. All checks or demands for money and notes of the Corporation and other instruments for the payment of money shall be signed by such officer or officers or other person or persons as shall be thereunto authorized by the Board of Directors from time to time.

Section 2. Corporate Seal. The seal of the Corporation shall be circular in form and shall contain the words "Mobilization For Youth - Incorporated 1959 - New York", or any similar expression.

Section 3. Waiver of Notice. Whenever by statute or by these By-Laws notice of any kind is required before any action or meeting, such notice may be waived in writing before or after the taking of such action or the holding of such meeting by the persons entitled to such notice or in the case of a member by his attorney thereunto authorized.

ARTICLE IX

AMENDMENTS TO BY-LAWS

The By-Laws of the Corporation may be altered, amended, changed, added to or repealed only by a majority vote of the directors of the Corporation at a meeting called for this purpose.

OPERATING COMMITTEE

Chairman: Helen Hall, Executive Director, Henry Street Settlement

Florence S. Becker
Assistant Superintendent of Schools
Districts 1-2-3-4

Professor Virginia Bellsmith
New York School of Social Work

Louis Berkowitz
Executive Director
Educational Alliance

Paul Bisgaier
Principal
P.S. 15

Arthur Cohn
Executive Director
Grand Street Settlement

Bernard Fisher, Director
Bureau of Public Affairs
Community Service Society

Martin A. Livenstein
Executive Director
Lower Eastside Neighborhoods Association

Rose Miller
Executive Director
Recreation Rooms & Settlement

Rabbi Seymour Nulman, Dean
East Side Torah Center

Rev. Francis X. O'Brien, S.J.
Church of the Nativity

Rev. William W. Reed, Vicar
Lower Eastside Mission of Trinity Parish

Victor Remer
Executive Director
University Settlement

Dr. Simon Slavin
Associate Professor
New York School of Social Work

Dr. Herman D. Stein
Director of Research Center
New York School of Social Work

Geoffrey R. Wiener
Executive Director
Hamilton-Madison House

Whitney Young
Executive Director
National Urban League

Rev. George D. Younger, Minister
Mariners' Temple Baptist Church

COMMUNITY ADVISORY COMMITTEES

Community Organization

Chairman: Martin A. Livenstein

Jack Anderson
Lower Eastside Neighborhoods Association

Ezra Birnbaum
Hamilton-Madison House

William Calise
Lower Eastside Neighborhoods Association

Bernard Gladstone
Educational Alliance

Chiam Grunwald
Educational Alliance

Rae Levine
Henry Street Settlement

Rev. Thomas P. Logan
Lower Eastside Mission of Trinity Parish

Milton Pulakos
Lower Eastside Neighborhoods Association

Anthony Sorvillo
Board of Education

Ralph Tefferteller
Henry Street Settlement

Julius Weisman
Educational Alliance

Kathryn Werckle
Board of Education

Deviant Groups (Conflict & Narcotics)

Chairman: Louis Berkowitz

Jack Anderson
Lower Eastside Neighborhoods Association

Rev. Edward Brown
Lower Eastside Narcotics Information Center

Rev. Stephen Chinlund
Lower Eastside Mission of Trinity Parish

Harvey Feldman
Hamilton-Madison House

Esther Goldsmith
Recreation Rooms and Settlement

Joseph Holdampf
Grand Street Settlement

Sande Jones
Lower Eastside Mission of Trinity Parish

Selwyn Lederman
University Settlement

Hannah Levin
Board of Education

Dr. Leon McKinney
University Settlement

Murray Narrell
Educational Alliance

Sherman Patrick
Department of Health

Rev. David Romig
Sea and Land Church

Lucille Rosenbluth
Department of Health

Daniel Rubenstein
Educational Alliance

Ralph Tefferteller
Henry Street Settlement

Rev. Walter Thompson
Lower Eastside Mission of Trinity Parish

Lawrence Zicht
Educational Alliance

Education Committee (Composed of Principals)

Chairman: Paul Bisgaier

Elementary Schools:

Toby K. Kurzband*
P.S. 1

Arthur Gregor
P.S. 2

Seymour P. Weinstein
P.S. 4

Irving Satinoff
P.S. 15

Hyman Terner
P.S. 31

Hazel R. Mittelman
P.S. 34

Frank S. Sacks
P.S. 61

Philip Jaffe
P.S. 63

Irving P. Greenberg*
P.S. 64

Daniel F. Zeccola
P.S. 97

Blanche Schwartz
P.S. 110

Arthur L. Block
P.S. 122

Louis Stoller
P.S. 134

Irving Rosenblum
P.S. 140

Sol E. Press
P.S. 177

Jack Landman
P.S. 188

Joseph DelBarto
P.S. 614

Esther P. Rothman
P.S. 621

Irving M. Boroff
P.S. 622

Junior High Schools:

Henry Seideman*
P.S. 12

Elliot Zeitlin*
P.S. 22

Max Francke*
P.S. 60

Irving Henry Fine*
P.S. 65

Benjamin Sallen*
P.S. 71

High Schools:

Max Berger
Metropolitan Vocational

Sidney Nanes*
Seward Park

Jack Pall*
Office of the Assistant Superintendent
Districts 1-2-3-4

Ada Morton
Office of the Assistant Superintendent
Districts 5-7-9

*Steering Committee

Group Services

Chairman: Arthur Cohn

Laurel Bolgiano
Hamilton-Madison House

Shirley Jones
Lower Eastside Mission of Trinity Parish

Betty Lesh
Educational Alliance

Hannah Levin
Board of Education

Rev. Rosenwald C. Robertson
Mariners' Temple Baptist Church

Health Services

Chairman: Rev. William Reed

Edna Chambers
Educational Alliance

Rev. Malcom Evans
Church of the Crossroads

George Friedman
Lower Eastside Neighborhoods Association

Carl Lebrandi
Lower Eastside Neighborhoods Association

Rev. David Romig
Sea and Land Church

Individual Services

Co-chairmen: Victor Remer, Olive Swoboda

Clara Blackman
Board of Education

Andrew Eklund
University Settlement

Rev. Maurice Garrison
Lower Eastside Mission of Trinity Parish

Abraham Kirmayer
Department of Welfare

Regina Kohn
Jewish Family Service

Adele Kriegenhoffer
Henry Street Settlement

Lea Levenburg
Beekman-Downtown Hospital

Nancy McMaster
Children's Aid Society

William J. Neilan
New York City Housing Authority

Kathryn Rummel
Community Service Society

Sister Marie of the Holy Trinity
Catholic Charities

Rena Schulman
Jewish Board of Guardians

Nathan E. Seldin
Youth House for Girls

Margaret R. Shippy
Salvation Army

Harold Siegel
Youth House for Boys

Frederika Teer
Educational Alliance

Sonya Thorp
Beth Israel Hospital

Julius Weissman
Educational Alliance

Josiah Young
Hamilton-Madison House

Margaret Zipse
Mariners' Temple Baptist Church

Public Relations

Chairman: Rev. George Younger

Zev Segal
Educational Alliance

Recruitment

Chairman: Rose Miller

Louis Berkowitz
Educational Alliance

Paul Bisgaier
Board of Education

Martin A. Livenstein
Lower Eastside Neighborhoods Association

Victor Remer
University Settlement

Ralph Tefferteller
Henry Street Settlement

Religious Institutions

Chairman: Rabbi Seymour Nulman

Rev. Francis X. O'Brien, S.J.
Church of the Nativity

Rev. William Reed, Vicar
Lower Eastside Mission of Trinity Parish

Rev. George D. Younger, Minister
Mariners' Temple Baptist Church

Work & Training Programs

Chairman: Geoffrey R. Wiener

Jack Anderson
Lower Eastside Neighborhoods Association

Rev. Charles Genet
St. Mary's Church

Esther Goldsmith
Recreation Rooms and Settlement

Shirley Jones
Lower Eastside Mission of Trinity Parish

Martin A. Livenstein
Lower Eastside Neighborhoods Association

Robert H. Reed
New York State Youth Employment Service

Victor Remer
University Settlement

Daniel Rubenstein
Educational Alliance

Stephen Slobadin
Christadora House

Ralph Tefferteller
Henry Street Settlement

PROFILES OF PROJECT DIRECTORS

James E. McCarthy, Administrative Director, has been with Mobilization for Youth since September, 1958. He is 45 years of age. He holds an AB degree from the University of Notre Dame (1938), and an AM from the Fordham University School of Social Service (1942). He has worked in a wide variety of social agencies, including the Madison Square Boys Club, the Community Service Society of New York and the Henry Street Settlement. He was also a probation officer for the Juvenile Court of the State of Connecticut. From 1945 to 1948, he was Group Work and Delinquency Consultant for the Welfare and Health Council of the City of New York. During that period, he organized the Central Harlem Street Club Project, a pioneer effort in work with street gangs in New York City. From April, 1948, to September, 1956, he was staff member of the New York City Youth Board. He held many posts at the Youth Board and was responsible for developing the Board's program for street gangs. When he resigned, he was the Deputy Executive Director. From 1956 he was Executive Director of Big Brothers, Inc., of New York. Since September, 1958, he has held the position of Administrator for the Board of Directors of Mobilization for Youth, Inc., project. He has taught courses in group work at the Fordham University School of Social Service, and has been a part-time member of the faculty of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at Hunter College from 1947 to the present.

George A. Brager, Action Director, has been associated with the project since July, 1960. He is 39 years of age. He holds a BSS from the College of the City of New York (1941), and a MSW from the University of Pennsylvania School of Social Work. He has worked in a wide variety of social agencies, including settlements, community centers, and residential camps, and has served as professional consultant to such agencies as the National Jewish Welfare Board. He has been a Group Work Supervisor in charge of a New York City Youth Board program at Bronx House, and from October, 1953 until he assumed his current position, he was employed as Executive Director of the Mount Vernon YM and YWHA. He was a part-time member of the faculty of the Social Research Laboratory at City College, and has taught courses in administration at the Adelphi College School of Social Work.

Richard A. Cloward, Research Director, has been associated with Mobilization for Youth since November, 1958. He is 36 years of age. He holds an AB from the University of Rochester (1947), a MSW from the New York School of Social Work (1950), and a Ph.D. in Sociology from Columbia University (1959). He has worked in a variety of social agencies, including settlement houses, day and residential camps, and prisons. For three years (1951-54), he was Chief Social Worker in a large, permanent military prison in an eastern state. In this capacity, he supervised the work of fifteen social workers with respect to the preparation of classification summaries and various therapeutic endeavors. In addition, he served regularly on the institutional classification boards and on the parole board. Since 1954, he has been a member of the faculty of the New York School of Social Work. His primary teaching areas are: Socio-cultural Elements in Social Work Practice; Deviant Behavior and the Social Structure; Delinquency; and, Social Research. He holds the post of Project Director in the Research Center of the New York School of Social Work, and has directed a number of large research programs in the field of juvenile delinquency. He is an Associate Professor at the New York School of Social Work.

Selected Publications of the Project Directors

James E. McCarthy

Reaching the Unreached: Re-directing Teen-age Gangs (1952) with Joseph S. Barbaro.

George A. Brager

Articles have appeard in Group Work and Community Organization, 1953-54, Columbia University Press, 1954; and Group Work, Foundations and Frontiers, edited by Harleigh B. Trecker, Whiteside, Inc. and William Marrow and Company, 1955.

"Social Attitudes and Social Action," Program Aids, National Jewish Welfare Board, Fall, 1959 (with Simon Slavin).

"Goal Formation: An Organizational Perspective," Social Work With Groups 1960, National Association of Social Workers, 1960.

Richard A. Cloward

Social Perspectives on Behavior, The Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois, 1958 (with Herman D. Stein); 667 pp.

"Social Control in the Prison," in Theoretical Studies in Organization of the Prison (New York: Social Science Research Council) April, 1957.

"Illegitimate Means, Anomie, and Deviant Behavior," American Sociological Review, Vol. 24 (April, 1959).

See also Robert K. Merton, "Social Conformity, Deviation, and Opportunity-Structures: A Comment on the Contributions of Dubin and Cloward," American Sociological Review, Vol. 24, (April, 1959)

Delinquency and Opportunity: A Theory of Delinquent Gangs, The Free Press of Glencoe, Illinois, 1960(with Lloyd E. Ohlin); 220 pp.